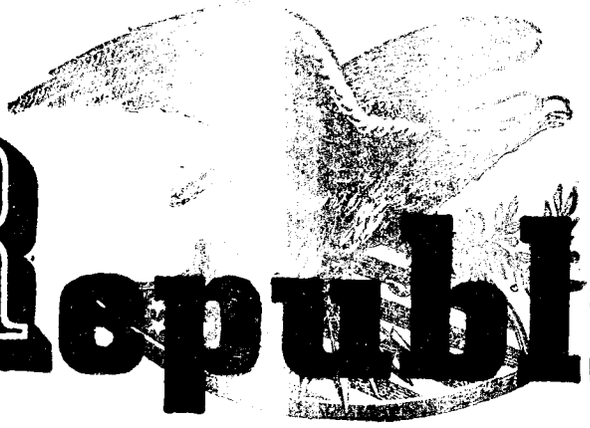
DEC. 16, 1946

New Republic



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New Republic

OL. 115, NO. 24 ISSUE 1672

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An Introduction

The New Editor

THIS WEEK the *New Republic* is published under a new editor. The *New Republic* was founded to express the promise of American life. No American can express that promise as well and truly as Henry Wallace.

Most great movements have small beginnings. Roosevelt hoped to be a town councilman at Hyde Park. Wallace wanted to be a plant breeder and soil builder. His father was editor of a farm paper, and friend of George Washington Carver, a young scientist studying at Ames College. Carver took a liking to Wallace's son Henry, six years old, and started the boy on the road to a lifelong interest in plant breeding.

At 16 young Wallace was growing corn by the ear-row method. He found the highest-yielding ears were not always those which the judges had placed first. He learned to challenge authority. Also he learned to breed corn. Thirty-five years later the hybrid corn which he did so much to popularize was saving 150 million hours of labor annually in wartime through higher yields, far more than the loss of man-hours each normal year in strikes. Without hybrid corn, pork chops, milk and eggs would be dearer today than they are.

IN 1932 a farm-paper publisher, Henry Morgenthau, visited Wallace, who was then the editor of *Wallace's Farmer*. Morgenthau told him about an up-and-coming Governor of New York. "He's a lucky fellow," Morgenthau said. After the nomination Wallace visited Roosevelt in Hyde Park to talk over farm-tenancy problems. In February, a telegram from the *Nourmahal* asked him to become Secretary of Agriculture. As Secretary, Wallace's greatest pride was in the Ever Normal Granary. Hunting through the public library at Des Moines, Wallace had read the doctor's thesis of a Chinese student on the constantly normal granary established in China in the time of Confucius. The Ever Normal Granary emerged as Ameri-

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THERE WILL BE MORE VIOLENCE

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY:

DEAR MR. BEVIN:

Are you ready to take the full consequences of the war in Palestine? You have been Foreign Secretary for sixteen months, and the situation has deteriorated miserably. Is this part of your calculated plan or just an example of supreme ineptitude? Whatever the reason, the consequences are more violence in Palestine. The explosion of grenades and mines in Jerusalem this weekend are but a prelude to what is ahead.

In the next weeks and months Hebrews and Englishmen, soldiers and civilians, will be sacrificed on the altar of your foreign policy: Tommys from Yorkshire will die in ambush in Palestine; Hebrew pioneers will give up their lives in raids staged by your airborne divisions. In Europe innocent women and children, survivors of concentration camps, will perish from the rigors of another winter or will be slaughtered by the continuing pogroms.

The killings that have been and the killings that will be are the harvest of your policy.

It's a strange business for a Labour Foreign Secretary to sponsor concentration camps, English Nuremberg laws, book burnings, and terror. What do you hope to accomplish by this? Do you hope to save Britain's honor and avoid reddening your own hands? From your maneuvers and statements your strategy is clear; you have a four-point program for Palestine:

1. You want to partition Palestine again.

This will cause more unrest and violence than anything to date.

You have negotiations with the Arab League and Jewish Agency. But you know that neither the Arab League nor the Jewish Agency speaks for the resistance and that you will ultimately have to shove partition down the throats of the people with bayonets. You are sending another 100,000 troops to Palestine for that purpose.

2. You are going to promise immediate immigration into Palestine —possibly promise 100,000 visas.

There are 1,500,000 Hebrew survivors in Europe who have the legal right to go to Palestine, and no Englishman, Arab or Jew has any authority to dole out visas to these people at the rate of one to fifteen. The Palestine underground will not watch the death of their brethren in Europe without acting. They will continue to force your blockade and bring as many to Palestine as want to go there. We Americans will help them as will thousands of Frenchmen, Italians, Poles, Czechs and others.

3. You want to prolong your occupation of Palestine permanently

You are building permanent military installations and trying to develop a Quisling administration to run the "natives." Your administrators have ignored the Mandate and treat Palestine as a crown colony

4. You are trying to postpone consideration of the Palestine issue by the United Nations.

You cannot face the world and account for the fantastic conduct of the British in violating the trust given you by the world over Palestine. You would rather bury your black record of misrule in a series of diplomatic conferences, which take place in London, rather than account to the world for your violations of international law

Peace Can Come When the British Go

Your cynical program will only enrage the people and solidify the resistance. The presence of your Chief of Staff, Sir Bernard Montgomery, in Palestine indicates that the British Empire is engaged in something more serious than merely hunting down a few "terrorists" and "gunmolls." You are involved in a war against the Hebrew nation, and when the unadorned truth becomes known to the world the real cause for the Hebrew resistance will be understood, and you will find that you are not opposed by 800,000 Hebrews, but by the entire force of civilized world opinion. And you, Mr. Bevin, know as well as anybody the true strength of that opinion, for it saved England in 1941 and gave you ships and planes, hope and courage. Today you have chosen to set yourself against that opinion which was your friend. You have chosen a course which will leave a blood trail in the Middle East and in Europe.

We, 135,000 members of the American League for a Free Palestine, will leave no stone unturned to expose your course and reveal the truth which you are concealing behind an iron censorship in Palestine. We have no doubt as to the outcome—GREAT BRITAIN NEVER WON A WAR AGAINST A PEOPLE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM. *AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE*

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

A PRACTICAL PROGRAM

(FORMULATED BY THE HEBREW COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION)

1. Immediate withdrawal of the British from Palestine.

2. The establishment of a Hebrew Provisional Government with full participation by all elements of the population in Palestine and full representation of those Hebrews who have been excluded by force and desire Palestinian citizenship. This Provisional Government to be formed with the assistance of the United Nations.

3. Full repatriation of all those Hebrews still in exile.

4. Final establishment of a Hebrew republic, with all elements joining in self-government to establish the first democracy of the Middle East.

This is a program which the American League for a Free Palestine supports. This is a program which all Americans can support because it brings a final progressive solution to an age-old problem. The only ones who can oppose such a program are those who believe in empires or those who want to perpetuate the present chaos in Europe and the Middle East. We feel it our duty to support this simple solution as opposed to Mr. Bevin's unworkable and dangerous plan.

Join the American League today and find out how you as a citizen can make this American program become the solution in the immediate future. The American League doesn't want to prolong this situation with inquiries, commissions, conferences, and resolutions. Pool your energy and enthusiasm with that of 135,000 other Americans of all faiths and creeds, in the American League, and together we can effect the solution NOW.

Help us to publish this message in leading American and European newspapers. Send your check today and help our work. We are a non-sectarian, non-partisan organization.

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ın policy. When we produced more ıan the normal carry-over in wheat and ɔtton, the government stored it. The heat and corn reserves—three to five mes normal stocks—the 14 million ales of cotton stored up in 1939, kept illions of Europeans from hunger ıd nakedness during the war. Wallace so started a program for building up ıe soil. One hundred thousand farm-s, elected by the farmers themselves township and county committees, lministered the soil-conservation pro-ram in one of the most ambitious ex-eriments in economic democracy ever ıdertaken. The success of the program epared the way for the achievements American farmers during the war ars.

There was a second message from ɔosevelt in 1940, when Wallace re-ɜned to join FDR on the Democratic ket: "Deliberation, true wisdom and ıtesmanship have gone into the for-ılation of your agricultural program. ɔurs has not been a narrow specializa-ın. You have been able to view the oblem of the farmer in its relation to ıer problems—economic, industrial d international. You have adhered thout deviation to the settled processes democracy. You see the needs of the ıntry as a whole."

THE VICE-PRESIDENCY meant organizing raw materials from overseas war plants through the Board of Eco-mic Warfare. It meant working with ınald Nelson to induce industry to all-out for war mobilization. It meant ping to restore the balance between material and the spiritual strength America. In the "Century of the mmon Man" speech, Wallace gave a w purpose to our entire war effort. dio and the underground press carried o every factory, front and concentra-ı camp. Traveling through Latin ıerica, China and Soviet Asia, Wal-e continued to develop our common r aims.

Jnity on the Right, division on the t, and a well planned campaign led ı new Democratic ticket in 1944. As retary of Commerce Wallace worked h limited power for full employment l world trade. Roosevelt's death pped the New Deal of its heart.

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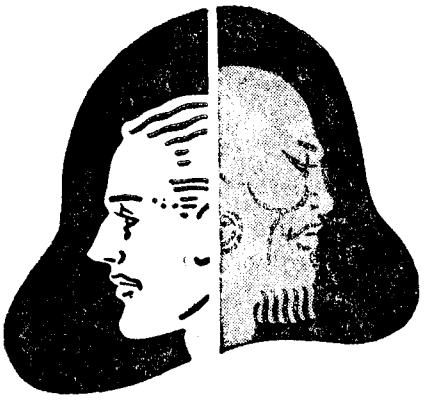

THE WORLD'S OLDEST ENEMIES

Can they live at peace?

● Of all pigmented peoples, only the Yellow Man has risen seriously to challenge the White. A thousand years before Columbus, he battered the doors of Europe. Then the White Man, too, moved, expanded, to become eventual aggressor in Asia. Today, these two groups stand at troubled truce. But what of tomorrow? Is there promise of permanent peace?

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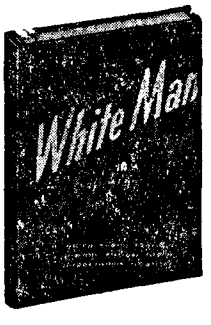

WHITE MAN—YELLOW MAN

ARVA C. FLOYD

● "The causes of war are not always casualties of war," writes this penetrating author, professor of missions and Oriental history at Candler School of Theology, Emory University. He points out that the empire system and racial tensions are problems with which our generation must yet deal. Here is an absorbing, well-balanced survey, painstakingly written from sound factual data. Ranging from earliest beginnings to our own day, it shows underlying causes of conflict, and points a course—a positive course—that can lead to enduring international good will.

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Wallace moved from independence to opposition as the government moved from mediocrity to complicity with reaction. The ties binding Wallace to the Truman Administration were strained; on September 12, they broke.

Wallace's grandfather and father were editors of farm papers. From 1921 to 1933 he had edited *Wallace's Farmer*. He realized that in 1946 the impulse of the New Deal had worked itself out, and that a new impetus was necessary to sustain the promise of American life. The promise would be kept or broken, not by a quick skirmish, but by a long struggle. A movement needed a program; a program needed a means of development and expression. The *New Republic* had been founded to "keep possession of the national fund of truth, not by memorizing and repeating it, but by bringing it down to date and renewing it"; renewing it through discussion "transfigured by a common conviction in the latent regeneracy and brotherhood of mankind." Wallace chose the *NR* to be "a window on the future."

TODAY Wallace is again an editor. He intends to spend most of his time at his desk, raising the *New Republic* to the measure of the spirit of America—a spirit that is urgent and demands expression.

Russell Lord once spoke of Wallace as "simply a man constantly moving on against and through the barriers that divide mankind; this in ever expanding measure has been the line of his life and growth in public affairs."

In breaking down the final barrier to one free world, the *New Republic* will be a weapon worthy of Wallace. A group of editors whose average age is 31, is setting out with Wallace to produce an exciting paper with important ideas. We have done as much as we could in a few weeks to make the *New Republic* more exciting and important. We intend to do a lot more.

The original editors of the *New Republic* nailed their colors to the mast when they wrote on the cover of the first issue: "A Journal of Opinion which seeks to meet the challenge of a new time." The time is new, the challenge is great; we are hopeful.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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for those seeking background on today's international situation."

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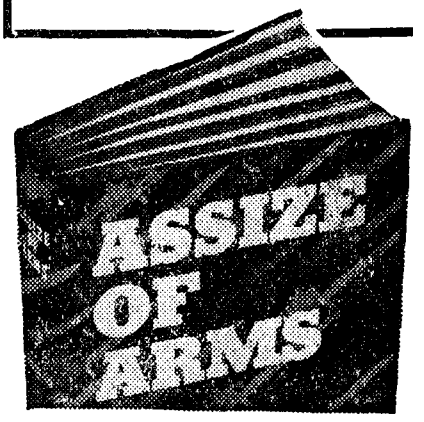

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The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, on behalf of its 350,000 members, greets the appointment of Henry Wallace as Editor of The New Republic.

It is an occasion for mutual congratulation among Liberal and Progressive forces in America. It brings under one roof a leading exponent of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and a great journal of Liberal opinion. For years they have fought separately the good fight against reaction and exploitation, war and insecurity; now they will fight together.

Henry Wallace could not obtain a better platform for his ideas, which have seized the imagination of millions of decent Americans. The freedom-loving peoples abroad, also, must hail this event, for a strong voice will reach out to them and for them regularly each week.

The fight for a new and better world has only just begun. Henry Wallace and The New Republic, we are convinced, will be in the forefront of the fight. Sanity and good-will, neighborliness and mutual aid, the extension of democratic ideas will be their watch-word.

FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY

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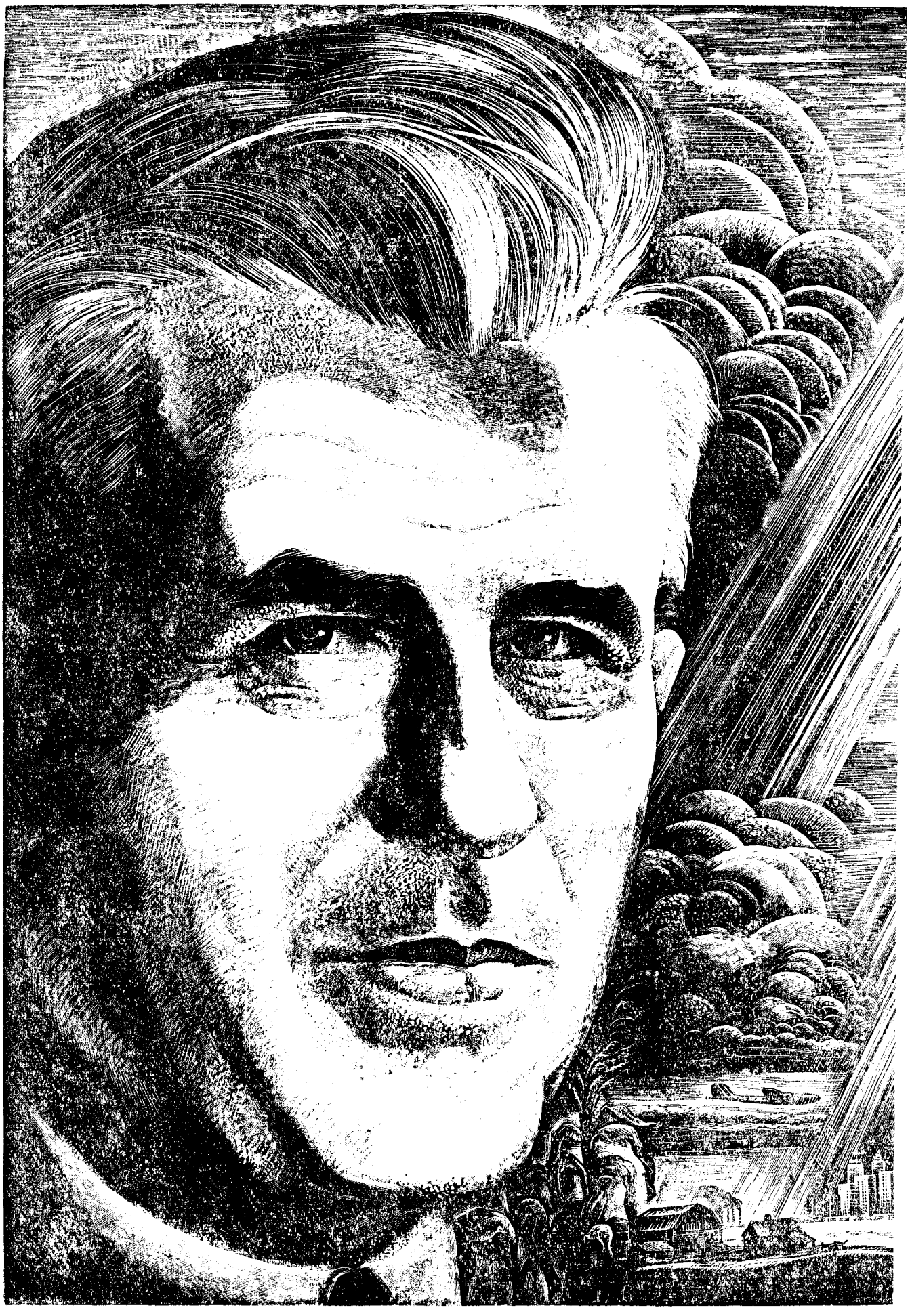

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Jobs Peace Freedom

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

by Henry A. Wallace

MY JOB AS EDITOR of the *New Republic* is to help organize a progressive America. It is a fighting job, the most worthwhile job I ever had. A world at peace is the hope of every American, and a progressive America is the hope of the world. To help build a program for such an America is as great an opportunity as my first days in the cabinet of Franklin Roosevelt in 1933.

I find no lasting defeat in the recent setbacks to the Democratic Party, but a challenge to make a new start. The American people have rejected, as they will always reject, a Democratic Party that is not militantly progressive. Americans have called for a new leadership. They will not find it in the present Republican hierarchy; until they find it, they will not rest.

Progressives are no small and beaten group. We stand as the proud inheritors of the greatest tradition in America, the Roosevelt tradition. Our task is to recast that tradition in terms of today. The progressives have not stopped fighting—they have just begun to fight.

It is no part of our tradition to look backward, reconstructing the fragments of the New Deal, bemoaning the loss of the wartime unity of the Allies and torturing ourselves with the thought: *if he had lived*. For Roosevelt there were no endings, only beginnings. To be faithful to the Roosevelt tradition today is to look ahead, seeking a new program for domestic prosperity and world unity, and new sources of support for that program among all Americans.

As we prepare for a new start, there is much we can learn from Roosevelt, both in his way of thought and in his way of action.

He was a progressive first and a Democrat second. Above all, he was a master politician, skillfully improvising from day to day new devices to hold together the cotton bloc, the silver bloc, union labor, the big city machines and, most important of all, the independent liberals. Often he seemed to be going in two directions at the same time. When a group would place its narrow, selfish interest above the general welfare, he would usually listen patiently and sympathetically. He called this "babying" them along. But there was always a system in his "babying." He always had his eye on the general welfare, even though he might be approaching it by the most indirect route. He combined this skilled

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political in-fighting with a direct radio appeal to the common sense of the people.

In the international field, Roosevelt used the same techniques. Stalin was deeply bound to Marxism, Churchill to empire and the status quo. Roosevelt's faith was equally strong, but he never permitted himself to be tied to any rigid dogma. He believed that all anti-fascist forces could be held together by common interest and by common sense.

Where Roosevelt failed, it was because he lacked organized support. He had no unified labor movement and no coherent liberal movement with which to work. The people were for him but they didn't know how to help him. During all the days of the New Deal, there was no systematic educational work: nor, apart from the PAC, which reached only the industrial centers, was an effort made to build a political machine to express liberal thought in action. Only in Roosevelt's first term did the progressives really have a majority in Congress. After that, the passage of progressive measures was largely due to Roosevelt's own skill. In wartime, Roosevelt became a national leader and looked for support from all Americans. Had we fought the war in a spirit of blood, tears, toil and sweat, we should have been prepared for the inevitable hardship of the postwar years. But the all-party character of the Administration and the absence of widely accepted war aims obscured for us the essentially progressive character of the war. That is why in Europe progressives are on the march and in America reactionaries win the votes.

WE NEED to learn all these lessons as we start over. Once the gallant heart and political skill of one man saved first the United States and finally the world. A great movement will produce more great men. But today the work which should have been done can no longer wait. We need to do more than improvise. We must plan in long-range terms. We must gather together progressives and fighters for peace from all parties, all regions and all groups. We must organize a nucleus of progressive energy and inspiration. Our purpose is not to criticize from the sidelines. It is to develop a program and carry it to all Americans. No democratic group is beyond our reach in developing this program—farm, labor, veterans', middle-class, business, professional, educational and religious groups are a part of it. Our ideals are the ideals of a living, dynamic America. We shall fail only if we restrict ourselves. We shall succeed through the broadest appeal—carried to every county in America and to every country in the world.

WHAT IS the basis for our new start? There is nothing obscure in what we represent. We stand for the American tradition. Not the false tradition of dollar diplomacy or high prices created by monopolistic scarcity, but the true American tradition, the tradition that is universal and has never been completely fulfilled—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Those three conditions in our Declaration of Independence are today a Declaration of Interdependence for the world. Today they mean peace, freedom and jobs for all.

Diehards of the Right today assert that jobs for all are beyond the reach of a society based on peace and freedom. Diehards of the Left maintain that freedom must be sacrificed for the sake of jobs and peace. Modern imperialists dream that in the name of jobs and freedom we shall fight a third world war.

Rejecting all these, I stand for one idea: that jobs, peace and freedom can be attained together and can make possible One World, prosperous and free, within our lifetime.

We can achieve peace, jobs and freedom in One World without war. But we cannot preserve any one of these conditions in any country unless we achieve all three in all countries. Peace, freedom and jobs for all are indivisible. Before we win lasting peace, we must achieve some measure of world government and law. But society comes before government, as our own history proves. Before we get world government and law, all *peoples* must become in some measure part of One World. America will never be part of One World in which there is not civil liberty. The USSR will never be part of One World in which there is not economic and social security. All who really believe in One World recognize that the search for peace, freedom and jobs for all is one worldwide search. This search is the basis for our new start.

Jobs for all means action *now* to prevent a serious depression in the United States. A depression

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is coming unless we act to prevent it. If depression comes, two-thirds of all veterans who have started their own businesses will go bankrupt; farmers will face foreclosure; workers will be unemployed. When 2.5 million veterans have no homes, when 20 million American families have incomes of less than $40 a week, when other millions have used up all their savings, a depression in America means disaster. Lowered production in America will cause depression everywhere.

TRADITIONALLY, Republicans are against government action to prevent depressions. Most Republican congressmen believe in complete freedom for large corporations to hold up prices by monopoly, while the prices of farm products and the wages of labor are beaten down. Traditional Republican policy calls for high tariffs, thus intensifying depression. For this reason, the world expects the depression to come sooner and to be more severe as the result of the Republican victory.

For years progressives have stood for high production. Recently, reactionaries have called for "production at any price" in an effort to destroy price controls. I hope they will go on calling for production, now that controls are off. One agency exists to help maintain production—the President's Economic Advisory Council. The Council is supposed to keep the President continually informed on the economic health of the nation and to make suggestions which the President can pass on to Congress. The fact that Congress is Republican does not relieve either the progressives, the Council or the President from working out an effective program. Businessmen and labor leaders will support it.

The function of business today is to produce goods abundantly at reasonable prices, pay decent wages and make a fair profit. Industry cannot and should not bear the sole responsibility for keeping our economy at full production. Full employment at fair standards is the responsibility of government. We are for whatever measures democratic government must take, in low-cost housing, public health, regional development, foreign loans, the provision of minimum standards, progressive taxation, the lowering of prices through trust-busting or the efficient operation of disorganized basic industries by government ownership or control.

Peace today means action to halt the dangerous drift toward war. This drift has gone so far that all governments act as if they had a mandate from their people to prepare to win the next war. Through this false mandate the most trivial issues become insoluble because they are seen as war preparations. The United States is led to squander its greatness in propping up corrupt and undemocratic regimes as supposed safeguards against communism. In the name of security, America is spending $13 billion a year on armaments and Russia is keeping five million young men in the Red Army while factories and fields lie idle. In the name of security, we are destroying UNRRA and refusing to send food and supplies to relieve famine and misery overseas because relieving famine and misery among other peoples is supposed to raise their ability to fight a war. To carry out a political purpose we are condemning thousands of people to death and millions to misery. In the name of security, German scientists are working in Russia to develop rockets capable of attacking America while other German scientists work in America to develop rockets capable of attacking Russia, at a time when American and Russian veterans are still dying of wounds inflicted by Germans. Our present search for security leads to insecurity and war. We are searching in the wrong ways, and the search itself is vain. Security alone can never be achieved. We can no more find security by searching for security than we can find happiness by searching for happiness.

OUR PROGRAM for peace is to abolish the causes of war. Real security is gained when democracy is practised everywhere, when living standards are raised, when all nations accept world law. Leaders of the present bipartisan bloc maintain that welfare comes after the peace settlement is made and security established. I answer that there will be no permanent settlement and no security until a world welfare program is begun.

This means a Peoples' Peace for every nation in the world based on the idea of an all-out effort to eliminate illiteracy and starvation. To establish a peoples' peace there must be international planning by the United States, England and Russia to increase the productivity of the so-called backward areas by irrigation dams, power dams, railroads, docks, highways, agricultural machines, textile mills, machine tools and hospitals.

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We need two 20-year plans. One, the elimination of illiteracy and starvation from the world by 1966. Two, the elimination of transmissible disease and the establishment of higher worldwide living standards by 1986. Technologically, it can be done. Morally, it must be done. Practically, it is cheaper than war and the only alternative to war.

This program of making world welfare a primary objective does not mean abandoning a security program. It means disarmament, including the effective dismantling of our stockpile of atomic bombs. It means opposing every step in the scramble for uranium resources and overseas air bases. It means supporting collective security through effective international inspection and control of activities that could be a part of war preparations.

ALL PEOPLES will support this program. They have had enough of the continuous battle for position in Germany, in the Balkans and Greece as the Anglo-Americans coöperate with the extreme right-wing elements and the Russians cooperate with the extreme left wing in nations where most of the people can't read or write and where there never has been any real democracy. They have had enough of the three great nations' reaching out to grab air and naval bases so they can attack each other. They want freedom of peaceful passage by sea and through the air combined with sufficient inspection to make sure of the peacefulness. They want the Panama Canal, Suez Canal, the Dardanelles and the Danube to be freely open to peaceful shipping on a basis that will fully allay the security fears of the Anglo-Americans and the Russians and at the same time enlarge the peaceful commerce of the world to the maximum. They want the oil of the Near East made available to the peoples of the world according to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and not according to the needs of the American, British or Russian military machines. Finally, we recognize that there will never be peace until justice and mercy have been given to the Jews in Europe and Palestine.

Freedom for us is basic; we can never compromise our faith in civil liberty. Man must have bread to live, but he doesn't live by bread alone and as soon as he has bread, he must have freedom to learn the facts of the world he lives in and the right to speak his mind about those facts. Those who deny this freedom have no part in the progressive movement.

THE DRIVE toward war today is a drive against freedom. Reaction—the same force which condemns vigorous government action for the general welfare as incompatible with freedom—is today cutting down freedom. The next stage in the drift toward all-out atomic war will put most of our freedoms at the disposal of an all-powerful military. At secret committee hearings the military will tell Congress why it needs a greatly extended secret police and why the United States should be in position to strike without the formalities of a declaration of war. The military, coöperating with their good friends among the larger corporations, will plan for decentralizing our factories and our population. The cost of preparation for all-out atomic war will be so high as to make the military more important as a source of employment than any 50 corporations. Everywhere we turn we shall face the government as the master of our economic and our personal destinies. Down this road lies American fascism—less brutal but infinitely more powerful in its ultimate compulsions than anything that Mussolini fostered. It is our responsibility as progressives to fight for an alternative to an atomic-arms race because only in this way can we preserve that freedom which is synonymous with the American way of life.

One of our most precious freedoms is the right to learn the truth. The common man is in danger of losing that right when 90 percent of his mental food is prepared for him every day by those who select the news to prove a point—and that point either reactionary or Marxist. We shall never have really warm friendship between the United States and Russia and a firm basis for peace until the peoples of both nations are given free access to the unbiased truth and complete freedom to express their reactions to that truth.

Freedom does not mean merely the absence of government control. The whole history of civilized social life has been the recognition that smaller freedoms must be given up in order to attain a larger freedom. Individual automobile drivers must give up their freedom to drive at 80 miles an hour in order to give all of us a greater sense of security on the highways. Individual farmers in Sweden must get a license to

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cut down a tree on their own properties. Under the Soil Conservation Act individual American farmers were not given "benefit payments" unless they took measures to improve their soil. The New Deal restricted hundreds of small freedoms in order to gain a few larger freedoms.

TODAY democracy is a universal ambition. The Soviet government no longer prides itself on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It describes Soviet communism as "a higher form of democracy." Some Americans greet this assertion with derisive laughter. They forget that two-thirds of the world laughs at freedom in America, remembering our discrimination against Negroes, Jews and other minorities.

I prefer to accept the willingness of the Soviet leaders to think more and more in democratic terms—and, in accordance with the Roosevelt tradition, I shall search for the best in all peoples.

The Soviet government bases its claim to democracy on the complete equality in the USSR among minorities and between the sexes; on the absence of any kind of discrimination; on the economic and social rights and opportunities guaranteed to all Soviet citizens; and on the absence in the USSR of powerful, private monopolies of press, radio and movies.

These arguments may be brushed aside in the US, but a large part of the world accepts them as a serious challenge to America. It is for us also to accept them as a challenge and make discrimination a crime, provide full and equal opportunities for all our citizens and enlarge freedom of expression.

We cannot hide the weaknesses in our democracy. If we take steps to overcome these weaknesses, then I believe the Russians, believing in the genuineness of our democracy, will move toward greater political freedom. Then one root cause of war will die away. Around these issues, I believe, our new start will be made.

Today, of course, we progressives are in the opposition in Congress. As a minority party the Republicans were interested solely in opposition and placed that opposition above the general welfare of the US and of the world. That is why we are suffering inflation and facing depression today. In contrast, the Democrats need to show how an opposition should act. They should generously support good legislation and vigorously fight bad legislation. We must not assume that all Republicans are reactionary tories. We must assume that many millions who voted Republican last November believe in One World and not in isolation.

Certainly as progressives we shall appeal to these millions. Our purpose is not to play party politics or palace politics, but to develop a program around which men of good will can gather. I have said many harsh things about the Republican Party, but I have never spoken badly of the rank and file of the Republicans. They were my people. My father was a Republican Secretary of Agriculture. I know how progressive the Republican farmers of Iowa can be when they really understand a problem. I have the greatest respect for the Republican farmers and small manufacturers of New England and the Middle Atlantic States as I have met them from time to time.

Of course, we need organization. The primary effort of progressives may be to rebuild the Democratic Party as a liberal party. But we are the captives of no party. If the Democratic Party is incapable of change, we shall strike out along other lines.

And we need a progressive press to develop our program, to organize a nucleus of support and to keep in touch with each other the world over. In days when reactionaries call the tune and the daily press dances to it, a weekly magazine is the best medium. That is why I have become Editor of the *New Republic*. I intend to make it the means through which the spirit of our new start can be expressed.

MY FIELD is the world. My strength is my conviction that a progressive America can unify the world and a reactionary America must divide it. My enemy is blind reaction, placing profit before production, depression before effective government and war ahead of a rising standard of living for the peoples of the backward areas. My friends are all who believe in true democracy. My master is the common man, striving to educate himself and his children for a richer, more abundant life. I seek no personal gain. If I have importance, it is because of the ideas that I have come to represent. They are major ideas, indestructible and on the march. ★ ★ ★

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News In Focus

Why

Coal

JOHN L. LEWIS was whipped because he miscalculated the effect of the election returns upon the Administration. Until the ballots were counted, Harry Truman apparently was ready to make a deal with the United Mine Workers. Presidential Adviser John Steelman favored a deal. So did Labor Secretary Lew Schwellenbach. The government's legal lights, including Attorney General Tom Clark, were willing to concede privately that Lewis had some legal grounds on his side in the demand for a new contract.

Then came the vote. Among other things, Lewis had tactlessly fought Truman's good friend in West Virginia, Senator Harley Kilgore, and Kilgore had barely squeaked through. The President was convinced that the people and a Republican Congress demanded a tough policy.

Truman's heart hardened against Lewis and against his own compromise-minded advisers. He determined to take his stand and hold the line against Lewis if it took all winter. He delegated the leadership of the fight to the toughest men around him: General Counsel Clark Clifford and the ubiquitous George Allen, both reinforced by conservative Bernard Baruch.

John Steelman, Lewis' good friend, was banished to his offices in the East Wing of the White House. Truman seldom saw him. The presidential mind was made up. Steelman lost caste to such an extent that he was not even kept informed of the government's maneuvers. At the very height of the strike, when the lights were going out and the furnaces were growing cold all over the country, Steelman was off deer hunting in West Virginia.

Meantime, the Attorney General reversed himself. Clark now found that Lewis had no right to breach the contract. He discovered a convenient judge in T. Alan Goldsborough (who could scarcely be accused of malice toward Lewis, since he had kept Lewis' opponent, Ray Edmundson, off the UMW ballot in the referendum of 1944). In slapping an injunction on Lewis, Goldsborough followed the government's arguments in their entirety. He accepted the government's brief as his own opinion, and he also took the government's advice on fixing the amount of the fine —$10,000 for Lewis; $3.5 million for the union.

Lewis could see how the wind was blowing. John Steelman was in the doghouse and could not bail him out. Lewis sent word to the operators that he was willing to negotiate. The operators, however, sensing that the government meant to stand firm, confidently refused. Only one of the operators, Ed Burke, front man for the Southern operators, got his signals crossed. He suggested a deal and was thrown out on his ear.

Lewis was getting desperate. He spent long hours in the Carlton Hotel and down on the Warrenton, Virginia, estate with Chesapeake and Ohio's Cyrus Eaton, who represented the coal-carrying railroads. Eaton faithfully reported Lewis' proposals and his growing eagerness to make peace with the operators. The operators would have none of it. The government had Lewis in a vise, and the operators sat back and enjoyed the fun.

The remaining alternative, rather than bowing directly to either the Administration or the operators, was to make a brave show by retiring instead before the august majesty of the Supreme Court and, belatedly, before the public weal. John L. Lewis grabbed at the last chance.

Where

Coal

JOHN L. LEWIS gave Washington reporters only 35 minutes' notice of his decision to send his miners back to the pits. Some 90 eager, expectant men and women awaited Lewis in the shabby basement auditorium, where Lewis' press agent, bibulous K. C. Adams, had arranged for the surpri news to be released.

There was barely time to observe tl interesting decor—hundreds of ca toons and photographs of John L. Lew as the Sphinx, John L. Lewis riding tl Republican elephant and the Democrat donkey, John L. Lewis sitting astri John Q. Public, John L. Lewis pattir the heads of miners' children, John Lewis leading the mine workers to tl Promised Land.

When Lewis entered the small aud torium, one would have thought hi the victor, not the vanquished. H mane was in disarray and his Oxfo suit was rumpled, but he strode in di nity and with firm step. He went the center table, on a slightly raise dais, and stood immobile briefly b tween two small, silk American flag hanging V-shaped on the wall behir him. He greeted the reporters, admo ished the unruly photographers, the pulled the letter out of his coat pocke "'Tis a poor thing," he said in mo modesty, "but 'tis my own. The stat ment is wholly mine."

He leaned back in his chair, holdir the letter a considerable distance aw from his aging eyes, and began to rea slowly, firmly and with great Eliz bethan pauses.

"To all members and local unions the bituminous districts of the Unite States, UMWA, greetings:

"The Administration's 'yellow-do injunction has reached the Supren Court. (His voice was deep and full scorn.) The Supreme Court of tl United States is a constitutional cou and its powers are derived from tl federal Constitution.

"The Supreme Court is, and we b lieve will ever be, the protector American liberties and the rightf privileges of individual citizens. (He there was great patriotic fervor.)

"The issues before the Court are fat ful for our Republic. It may be pr sumed that the verdict of the Cou when rendered, will affect the life every citizen.

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"These weighty considerations and the fitting respect due the dignity of this high tribunal imperatively require that, during its period of deliberation, the Court be free from public pressure superinduced by the hysteria and frenzy of an economic crisis. In addition, the public necessity requires the quantitative production of coal during such period."

Those were the reasons he gave for his decision.

He ordered the men back forthwith, and he ordered them to continue mining coal until midnight, March 31, 1947. Meantime, he said, he will be willing to negotiate a new wage agreement with "an alphabetical agency of the United States" or with the coal operators "within the limitations of the findings of the Supreme Court of the United States."

Then came the admonition, both to reassure the miners that he had not been coerced into the action, and to warn them not to jump the track. "Complete unity of action is our sole source of strength. We will, as always, act together and await the rendition of legal and economic justice." Finally, like a proud field marshal, he added the valedictory: "I salute you, beside whom I have been privileged to serve."

How

Coal

COURT INJUNCTIONS break strikes. The coal strike was broken by just that.

CIO President Philip Murray was grimly serious when he said: "All the social, economic and legislative gains of the past decade are in dire danger. The recent court injunction against the United Mine Workers of America and the vengeful fine imposed is but the first step."

Judge Goldsborough's ruling, whether or not upheld in the Supreme Court, must stand as a black chapter in the history of labor. The Norris-LaGuardia Act specifically states that no court *may issue an injunction in a legitimate labor dispute.*

In choosing to fight Lewis with this weapon, the Administration forced a deliberate issue. It disdained an even more potent weapon, the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act, passed specifically to keep John L. Lewis from doing what he did.

Government by injunction worked. The Danbury hatters, the Pullman strikers, the railroad-shop workers, Gene Debs, all whirled in their graves. It worked so well that a slight change in the Norris-LaGuardia Act, granting private business the same privileges the government has asserted, could set the clock back 50 years for all organized labor.

Shambles

Housing

WHAT LITTLE is left of the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program is now to be torn down.

With Wilson W. Wyatt gone as Housing Expediter, the Administration is expected soon: (1) to remove the $10,000 ceiling on new home construction; (2) to scrap the controls which channeled scarce building materials into homes for veterans; (3) to end the requirements that veterans be given the first chance to rent or buy new homes.

Wyatt resigned when he saw that in the Administration's "back-to-normalcy" temper his unprecedented housing program would never get beyond the stage of a "start."

Wyatt's start was impressive. He did not get much legislative help. But by offering producers of building materials a "premium payment" for extra output, he brought about a 57-percent increase in the production of cast-iron soil pipe; a 61-percent increase in the output of hardwood flooring; a 100-percent increase in production of radiation; a 100-percent increase in nails; a 43-percent rise in plywood; and an 84-percent increase in brick.

From January through October, 882,200 dwelling units were started, and 500,400 were finished. By the end of the year Wyatt confidently predicted the starts would number a million. And the completed houses were reserved for veterans.

At this point Wyatt ran into serious trouble. The wiping out of price control on November 9 meant that he could not hold the price of new homes to $10,000,

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a figure already too high for most veterans.

Wyatt's only hope of getting good, inexpensive houses that veterans could afford lay in producing them on the assembly line with new materials and new methods. That meant starting off an infant industry at grown-up speed. To do it, Wyatt asked the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to supply up to 100-percent financing. The RFC and its chairman, George Allen, the President's jovial right-hand man, said no.

In the impasse Wyatt appealed to the President, who only a year earlier had told him "to make no little plans." At Truman's request Wyatt drew up a revised program. Wyatt told the President that, although 1.5 million homes could no longer be built in 1947, a record volume of moderate-priced homes and apartments still could be built. However, this would mean all-out emergency controls.

"We met the emergency needs of the war by giving all-out assistance to manufacturers of war materials," Wyatt wrote the President. "Now we need homes and apartments for veterans. The way to get them quickly is to follow the emergency pattern set up during the war.

"We cannot face our veterans with a half-hearted program. There are really only two choices. The country must adopt and carry through an all-out veterans' housing program—a real emergency program—or return to building as usual."

The President's answer was that housing must be fitted into "the framework of the government's announced policy of relaxing controls."

Mill of Justice

Georgia

AFTER FOUR MONTHS of sleuthing, the Federal Bureau of Investigation has placed its undisclosed evidence on the mass lynching, last July, of four Negroes—two men and two women—near Monroe before a federal grand jury.

The outcome of the grand-jury investigation, which will probably last through December, depends on these "ifs":

1. If evidence proves that the sheriff or any other state agent conspired with private citizens in plotting and carrying out the lynching, the Federal Court, under the "due process" amendment, can prosecute.

2. If it is proved that no officer of the state is connected with the case, it will be turned over to the Georgia courts, which will have sole jurisdiction to prosecute for criminal action.

3. If members of the mob remain unidentified, the federal investigation will continue, since the possibility remains that one or more members of the mob was a law officer and therefore an agent of the state.

The Justice Department predicts that it will be a hard case to crack. "In fact," one official said, "it may take a community feud before someone is willing to tell off."

Hart, Schaffner & Marx

Rome

SOCIALIST Pietro Nenni, Italy's Foreign Minister, has now instructed Italian diplomats to divest themselves of traditional white tie and tails. Business suits, he suggested, are more becoming to Italy's modern diplomatic style.

Do-Little, Do-Nothing

United Nations

SENATOR TOM CONNALLY, who introduced the resolution barring Spain from UN activities and calling on the Spanish people to alter their own government, has now told the General Assembly that the US will go no further. If the other delegates want a diplomatic or economic break, he implies, the US will not be bound by majority vote.

Rejecting the idea of an economic break, Senator Connally said that Franco is "not rationed; he's not under OPA; he's got plenty. . . . The people who will suffer will be the working people of Spain."

The *Christian Science Monitor* had this to say: "The United States policy toward Dictator Franco of Spain has improved slightly. It was a do-practically-nothing policy. Now it is a do-as-little-as-possible policy."

Foregone Conclusion

Mississippi

IN A SMALL Jackson courtroom, filled with professional friends and fans of Theodore G. Bilbo, a five-man Senate committee conducted the first congressional investigation to be held in the South since Reconstruction Days. Under investigation was the primary election campaign of the Senator from Mississippi.

From the start, the course and conduct of the hearings were a foregone conclusion. In committee chairman Allen J. Ellender, a fellow Democrat from neighboring Louisiana who will be running for reëlection in 1948, Bilbo had in effect a determined defense counsel.

Bilbo enjoyed the privilege of cross-examining witnesses through the chairman—a privilege seldom granted in senatorial investigations. From the moment Senator Ellender opened his interrogation of the first Negro witness, the final form of report became obvious. His questions aimed exclusively at forcing witnesses to admit that not Bilbo's words but the Mississippi "tradition" of "white democratic primaries" kept Negroes away from the polls.

Against these tactics, the two Republican committee members, Bridges of New Hampshire and Hickenlooper of Iowa, made only listless protests. The committee rushed through several scores of witnesses in four days, did not even order Bilbo's campaign speeches—the crux of the investigation—put on the record.

Yet, in the main, the committee's Mississippi journey remained productive. It had set out to establish the political context in which Bilbo acted, to provide the Senate with an official record by which it might measure his deeds. The evidence was still damaging.

Molotov Melts

United Nations

A CROWDED, deadlocked General Assembly committee heard Molotov relinquish veto rights over inspection and control of war weapons. It was Russia's greatest concession so far to the US atom-control plan. Molotov

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called for a general reduction of armaments, the outlawing of the atom bomb and the establishment by the Security Council of two control commissions with inspection powers, one on disarmament and one on the atom.

The veto would still apply in establishing the commissions, but after working rules had been set up and approved by UN members, the commissions would not be restrained by its use. Breach of these working rules would be the only excuse for interference by the Security Council, Molotov promised.

Under his plan, the control commissions will be flexible enough to handle existing and future weapons as well as the atom. Moreover, since all lethal weapons will eventually be outlawed by international convention, the commissions would act as fact-finding boards, reporting violations to the Security Council for punitive action.

Russia did not propose to relinquish veto rights within the Security Council itself. On this point, Molotov is still at odds with Bernard Baruch, who repeated the US ultimatum that atomic control be entirely exempt from any form of the veto.

Laski & Libel

London

THE QUESTION before the court was: had Harold Laski, the turbulent Laborite professor, indeed told a Newark audience during the 1945 election campaign that labor might have to resort to a "revolution by violence"?

If not, Professor Laski was entitled to healthy damages from the Newark *Advertiser*, a provincial paper which had accused him of inciting to violent overthrow of the government. Both litigants paraded witnesses who swore that the professor had, or hadn't, been accurately quoted in his speech. Finally a blue-ribbon jury sided with the Newark *Advertiser*. The suit was tossed out of court, and the judge ordered Laski to pay all legal costs, which may run as high as $60,000.

The Tory press, constrained from commenting while the case was *sub judice*, heaved a sigh of relief. "A victory for freedom of the press," exclaimed the London *Evening Standard*, which itself would have been threatened by a similar suit if Laski had won his case.

Although Laski's action was his own private affair, the Labor Party pitched in to help pay the costs.

Sign of the Times

New York City

Its forces dwindling, the OPA is vacating office space in the Empire State Building. The new tenants: the Army's Manhattan District atomic-bomb experts.

Right Combination?

Paris

INITIAL FAILURE of the National Assembly to agree on a Premier for France's interim government left the public deeply disheartened, especially in view of the urgency of the country's economic plight. The tug of war in which neither the Communists' Maurice Thorez nor the Popular Republicans' Georges Bidault could secure a majority illustrated how rigid party partisanship has become.

The Popular Republicans refused to vote for a Communist; the Communists reciprocated in kind. The Socialists, although 18 abstained, backed Thorez and announced they would support no government in which the Communists were excluded. Thus a coalition of both the Right and a Popular Front failed to muster a working majority.

Finding a combination that would work promised to rest finally on some artificial compromise, in which perhaps one of the smaller parties of the Middle could be induced to join forces with one of the well defined blocs. Herriot's Leftist Rally, although anti-Communist and small, won a notable tactical advantage from the deadlock.

Moot Point

Foreign Affairs

OFFICIALS of both countries emphasized that there was "nothing political" in the agreement signed to merge the American and British zones of Germany into a single economic unit.

Technically they were right. The terms of the pact concerned only economic matters. They were so non-political that they didn't even include a pledge by the two governments for renewed efforts to eradicate nazism.

The omission was conspicuous in light of these facts:

1. The merged zone would include 40 million Germans and the coal-rich Ruhr, which furnished much of the potential for two German wars of aggression in 25 years.

2. Establishment of central administrative agencies for the merged area would put greater power into German hands than at any time since V-E Day.

3. Denazification, in the US zone at least, had been acknowledged by the deputy American military governor himself as far from complete.

Few persons would oppose the economic merger. Without its plan to make the two zones self-supporting by the end of 1949, the occupation would continue to cost American taxpayers about $200 million and British taxpayers about $400 million annually. Besides, the Potsdam Big Three agreement had provided for the treatment of Germany as an economic unit and the Russians thus far had failed to comply.

But to contend that a plan to put half of Germany back on its feet had no political significance seemed like stretching a point.

Brain Loot

Ohio

DAYTON citizens awoke one day last week with supposed surprise. Under their noses, at the giant Wright Field aeronautical laboratories, the US Army was picking the brains of 86 of Hitler's military scientists, a vanguard of a total of 1,000 yet to come.

Among those on the job were specialists in rockets, jet planes, wind tunnels, space vehicles of the future. Rumors of "Operation Paperclip" had been kicking around ever since V-E Day. But the State Department had cautiously tried to keep the operation concealed to dodge the charge that the US was looting German technology.

The imported brainpower was being

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paid for the loan—$3,120 a year plus $6 a day in expenses to each scientist. How much topnotch ability the US was getting in return was still in dispute.

Many of the scientists had once been at least passively loyal to the Nazis. For their labors here another reward would be the rights of US citizenship.

Committee of 15

Civil Liberties

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has appointed a Committee on Civil Rights to recommend legislation for "more adequate and effective means and procedures for the protection of the civil rights of the people of the United States." Chairman of the 15-member body is General Electric's Charles E. Wilson, former WPB official. "In some places," the President noted, "local enforcement of law and order has broken down, and individuals—sometimes ex-servicemen—have been killed, maimed or intimidated."

Point for Petrillo

Illinois

IF THE next Congress feels vindictive toward John L. Lewis, memories of the Lea Act may tug at the reins. Congress passed the Lea Act to thwart James C. Petrillo, president of the AFL Federation of Musicians, in his bouts with US broadcasters. In Chicago, Federal Judge Walter J. LaBuy ruled such legislation beyond constitutional bounds.

Judge LaBuy called the Lea Act "class legislation" because: "This statute could be used to deprive the members of the musicians' union of the right to quit work collectively. . . . Broadcasting employees are singled out and held to a more rigid rule than any other employees."

While government attorneys prepared to appeal to the Supreme Court, Petrillo resumed the role of one of US labor's more expansive figures. His latest made even Shakespeare move over. A touring company of Maurice Evans' production of "Hamlet" arrived with a three-piece pit orchestra. Petrillo demanded top scales for the play's drummer, organist and trumpeter instead of the lower rates usually paid incidental musicians. "Hamlet," in Petrillo's book, turns out to be just another musical.

PERON: THE STRONG MAN OF ARGENTINA

Isolationists Please Copy

Texas

BEFORE the war ended, the Nazis were building a 100-ton rocket to strike at the US. So says Wernher von Braun, 34-year-old German scientist who invented the deadly V-2 supersonic rocket. Von Braun now works for the US Army at Fort Bliss.

Tough on Parents

Ohio

IN CLEVELAND, Marvin Court, a wounded veteran of World War II, was lucky enough to find an apartment. There was only one catch: No Children Allowed. Six months after Court and his wife moved in, Mrs. Court had a baby. The landlord, insisting they had violated the lease, ordered them out. By a 4-to-3 decision the Ohio Supreme Court has just ruled that the landlord was within his rights in evicting the victims of parenthood.

Agitated Argentina

Buenos Aires

SINCE his arrival in Buenos Aires New York *Times* correspondent Frank L. Kluckhohn has daily been jabbing a needle into the arm of the Strong Man, President Juan Peron. Kluckhohn's dispatches have reported on former Axis agents in the Argentine government, Argentine trade negotiations with Franco Spain and Peron's five-year plan for a militaristic state economy.

In return Argentine newspapers are now demanding Kluckhohn's scalp. *Critica* called his stories a "systematic violent attack" upon a friendly country. *Lider*, expressing fears for Kluckhohn's "own physical safety," has demanded that he be deported under a law aimed at "agitators."

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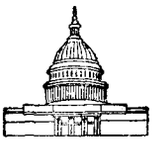
Washington Wire—The Heat's On



HE COAL STRIKE is over and the bigger labor struggle continues. ıe second struggle is far less spectacu- and far more important than John 's personal duel with the government. is the big test of organized labor's stwar status in the United States.

Let's begin with Lewis. We had just ished one of our perspicacious columns r this magazine when the ticker rang citedly, the strike was off, and our lumn was too. Old Eyebrows had sud- nly capitulated. Whether he pays his e still remains to be seen, but there ll be some who will not be too un- ppy if he does. Ending the coal crisis s three immediate effects. America's ɔnomy starts ticking again, with far s harm done at home than news- pers indicated, and this means food d fuel for the desperate nations road. Politically, it marks a big boost the prestige of Truman—the little ın who won his war of nerves—and ɔbably also to Fred M. Vinson, who ıy can't help believing had a big ıre in it. And finally, on the labor ɔnt, it marks a tremendous blow to ogant Lewis' prestige, and the prob- le end of his design to dominate ife-torn American unionism, which, it seemed to many, he was leading to aster.

UT THE still bigger struggle goes on. The question is whether labor will ld its wartime gains. Since Roosevelt ɔk office in 1933, trade-union mem- ship has multiplied five times. Labor s emerged from infancy and has ar- ed at adolescence. No one can feel it s reached maturity when such feudal ons as Lewis hold sway and when h senseless rivalry exists as that be- een the AFL and the CIO.

The story of World War I makes a cinating parallel. The AFL doubled membership in four years, and ched a peak of four million in 1920. en came the counter-thrust, the "re- sion," the bloody steel strike. The deration lost 25 percent of its mem- bership and did not regain this ground for a dozen years.

Now labor has just come through an even greater period of expansion. The easy war and reconversion days are just about over. Labor must brace itself for a period of stress. Big Business is flexing its muscles. The Republican Congress meets in three weeks. A Washington observer knows intuitively that labor faces sharp and probably indiscriminate legislative chastisement. Fortunately Lewis, temporarily at least, seems out of the picture; a worse leader and a poorer battlefield, from labor's viewpoint, could hardly have been picked. In the coal crisis Phil Murray, in alarm, urged labor factions to close ranks. It is doubtful that they would, even if the coal strike had continued.

LEWIS obviously didn't think Truman would fight. Put crudely, his tangled legal position was that of a motorist who, when stopped by a traffic cop, resists arrest. All that Judge Goldsborough has so far decided is that Lewis should have gone along nicely with the cop—namely, abided by the court's temporary restraining order. As to the other, the fundamental question of whether Lewis was really speeding—in other words violated the terms of the Krug-Lewis agreement—that hasn't been reached yet, though maybe the Supreme Court will lump the whole thing together now the strike has been called off.

The Justice Department now argues that everybody but the government is bound by the Norris-LaGuardia Act, which forbids the use of injunctions in labor disputes. But in an earlier case, now before the Supreme Court, "United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners v. USA," it took just the opposite position. The High Court heard the case argued, then reargued, then argued a third time. All this was very unusual. In the government brief filed last April 17, the Justice Department specifically declared, "That suits by the government are not exempt from the Norris-LaGuardia Act is clear from its history." And so it goes on. Of course the Supreme Court is not bound by the government's own earlier concession, but it is bound to give it great weight.

WHAT MUSCLE SHOALS was to World War I, the $150 million government-built oil pipelines, known as the Big Inch and Little Big Inch, are to this war. They were built with government money; they belong to the taxpayers, you and me, and they represent a tremendous threat, which selfish interests would like to see eliminated, against private monopoly. When Congress finally rejected Ford's bid for Muscle Shoals and created the TVA, a page turned in history. The chance is open for this to happen again. The government brought an anti-trust suit against the major oil companies in 1940, telling them they had to get rid of their retail outlets and particularly of their barge lines. It is this private transportation system that gives them an unfair advantage over less integrated, smaller competitors. The case is still pending. But if the government's Texas-New York pipelines could become common carriers for oil, open to small and big companies alike, the oil trust would suffer a tremendous blow.

Thurman Arnold, Abe Fortas, David Cushman Coyle and other ex-New Dealers have come forward with a plan to run the pipelines on a non-profit basis by a board representing government and private industry alike, similar to those used in England. The oil companies are deathly afraid of such a development. Nothing would please them more than to see the lines turned over permanently to transmission of natural gas, under private operation of course, where competition wouldn't hurt them. The lines had actually been turned over to a private company for emergency use in the coal strike. Now their disposal comes up all over again.

Washington T. R. B.

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Lost: American Policy in China

by Theodore H. White

ALL ACROSS the map of China, armies are marching toward one of the most terrifying episodes in the history of the Chinese revolution. The stake for which the Kuomintang fights is of overwhelming importance: it is unchallenged suzerainty over the greatest single mass of human beings in recorded history.

Almost two million of Chiang Kai-shek's troops are deployed along a main battle line that runs more than one thousand miles from Manchuria through Tientsin across the plains of Honan and the rugged hills of Shansi to the wasteland of Shensi. It is a front commanded by as odd a collection of warriors as ever took the field: the feudal warlord friend of the Japanese, Yen Hsi-shan, commands its western flank; its center is under the command of General Li Tsung-jen, once a noted provincial enemy of Chiang Kai-shek who has come to hate the Communists even more; its northeastern extremity is under the command of one of General Stilwell's Americanized former pupils, General Tu Yu-ming. They are opposed by Communist armies and guerrillas of well over a million men. To realize the magnitude of the Kuomintang's job it must be remembered that the might of the continental Japanese armies, exerted for seven years, failed to crush the same Communists the Kuomintang believes it can destroy in six months.

Kuomintang strategy is simple: it is to mop up the remaining Communist pockets on the railways, seize the large cities, unfreeze communications and let the Communists wither in the hills. Communist counter-strategy is equally simple: it is to refuse any challenge to positional battle; to harass enemy lines; inflict all the casualties it can on Chiang's armies, hoping that the drain in funds, manpower and material will wreck Chiang's shaky economy.

The present power of the Kuomintang armies comes from one source alone —America. It is a power we granted Chiang Kai-shek, for the most part not in the flush of common war against a common enemy, but in the year since V-J Day. It is a power committed unreservedly into the hands of the Nanking government by an American policy whose net effect has been to nullify our wistfully announced intent: a peaceful, democratic, unified Chinese state.

THE HISTORY of American policy in China reads like a page torn from the Great Book of Errors. It brings to focus all the fuzzy-minded, half-hopeful, half-sinister elements of our attitude to the world.

The best and last announcement of our policy was President Truman's statement a year ago. "It is the firm belief of this government," he said, "that a strong, united and democratic China is of the utmost importance . . . for world peace." *"United States support,"* he underscored, *"will not extend to US military intervention to influence the course of any Chinese internal strife."*

Having thus, in effect, declared ourselves out of any Chinese civil war and having sent General George Marshall, a statesman of spotless integrity, to act as arbiter in bringing this war to a close, we then proceeded to:

1. Move some eight more Kuomi tang armies of almost 200,000 men in the heart of the Communist areas in tl next six months.

2. Lend-lease to the Chinese gover ment $200 million worth of supplies.

3. Turn over $800 million worth surplus war goods in the Pacific ar lend the Chinese government the fun to transport these goods to China.

4. Turn over to the Chinese gover ment a proposed total of 271 nav vessels, the first of which have alrea shelled Communist-held ports.

5. Ship several hundred million dc lars' worth of UNRRA goods to Chir with $250 million more to come. (this about 1.5 percent went to the Cor munists, who held a third of the land.

6. Continue the presence of our M rines guarding north China rail lines.

Instead of halting a civil war, have supplied it. We have moved hu armies into position, given them t strength to make war. Chiang's arm roll on American trucks powered American gasoline, fly American plar firing American bullets, fight w American tanks, shells and guns.

Only a statesman of surpassing clev ness and diabolical purpose could ha made so great a mockery of Americ record in China. Actually no man such shrewd determination exists on t Washington scene today. America's r ord in China is the result of confusi lack of leadership, lack of decision a lack of greatness on the part of c national government.

Today, in Washington, there is single individual who can say what our policy in China. President Trun is too busy and harassed by domes matters to give his attention to t Pacific. Secretary Byrnes is reported have stated that he has to concentrate the Russians in Europe before he c get around to China. Between t Byrnes level and the non-political care diplomat level is a huge gap that filled only by the phrase: "Wait Marshall gets back."

In a sense, all relations between US and China exist in the vest poc of George Marshall; on those days wl Marshall sends no cables from Nanki Washington has no opinion on Chi Never since the days of the Roman p

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consuls has a single man held in the name of a great republic such personal responsibility for the security of its future and frontier.

Nowhere in Washington is there any criticism of Marshall. His integrity, wisdom and devotion are beyond question. But even Marshall cannot reconcile a policy of peaceful words and warlike deeds. His success or failure in China depends not only on the policy we ask him to implement but on the logic with which we back its implementation.

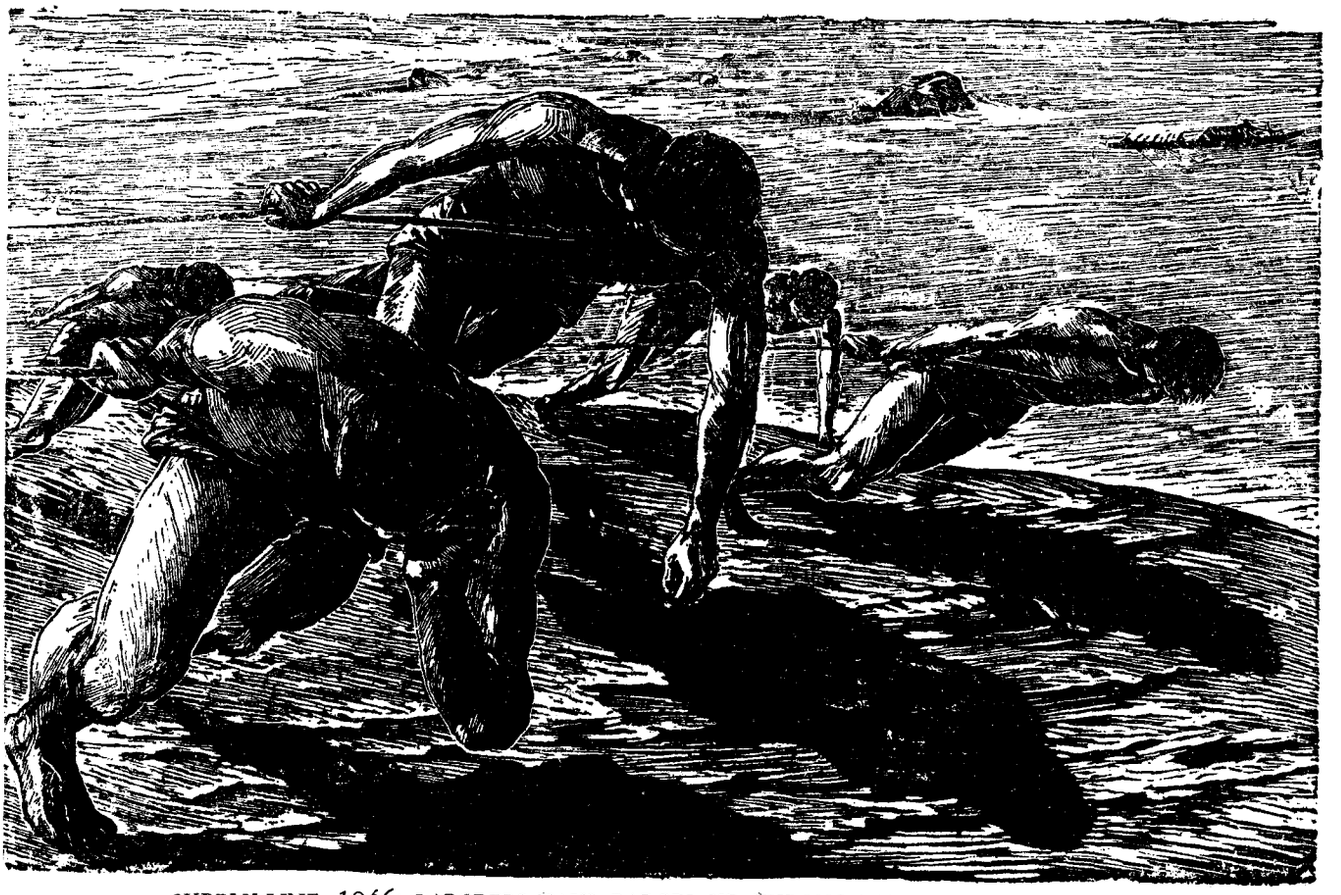
Logically, the place to seek an answer for China should be in the Far Eastern Division of the State Department. But the Far Eastern Division can offer only advice; it is powerless to make basic political decisions. The State Department's specialists on China have been outstanding for their knowledge of the land and the language, for their warm human sympathy with the problems of the country.

Being familiar with the situation, they know what changes must be made before China can be peaceful, where the social dynamite lies, what groups are operating to relieve the pressures and what groups oppose relief. But it is impossible for a civil servant of any sort to suggest that a popular revolution anywhere might possibly be to America's interest. When wishful thinking considers a stable Kuomintang regime under Chiang a useful counterweight for Russia, and the specialists know this to be almost impossible, the specialists must struggle for realism not on the level of principle but on the level of technicality. "You can criticize us," said one diplomat, "for the little we have done. But it could have been so much worse. No one ever thinks of praising us for the things that were not done."

AMERICA'S course in China is determined by drift. It is determined by the almost irresistible carry-over of our war thinking, of faded military commitments; it is determined by the fact that great pipelines have been set up to aid Chiang and it is easier for the technicians in the War, Navy and Treasury Departments to keep on pumping supplies than to stop. It is easier for the tired and leaderless men in Washington to drag along in old accustomed grooves, to make war, than to think their way out stubbornly to make peace.

The greatest need now is for vigor of thought. China is in a torrent of change. To this central fact all our policy must be addressed. This revolution must be won to America's side. To this end all our commitments must be reëvaluated.

The renaissance which is surging across Chinese society today is the monopoly of no single party, is the result of no conspiracy in Moscow, is part of no threat to American national security. It is merely the desire of the Chinese people to have peace, security and food. China is a peasant country—three-quarters of her people live directly from the soil. China's unrest is distilled out of the incredible misery and wretchedness of people who know it is not right that they should continue to live as they do: that their crushing taxes should be drawn away in graft, that their crops should be snatched away by landlords, soldiers of thieving officials, that



SUPPLY LINE, 1946: LABORERS HAUL BARGES UP THROUGH THE YANGTZE GORGES

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their children should die of malnutrition, their sons be trapped on the highways for service in unending war.

The government of Chiang Kai-shek, despite the few honest and distinguished men who form its façade, despite its sanctimonious morality, has done nothing for 20 years to meet the terribly urgent needs of the people. It rests directly in every village on those little groups of men who control the land, the gendarmes and the taxes and who will not give way to progress.

During the past 20 years, Western education of a most primitive sort has been trickling into the peasant villages. It is said that the average Chinese peasant lives and dies within a radius of 30 miles of his birthplace without having traveled farther than the nearest county seat. But during the war just ended, hundreds of thousands of peasants have been taken from their homes by the army or fled as refugees across endless miles of rivers and mountains, learning and seeing new things. Soldiers have been carried by planes, have been exposed to vitamins, have seen Americans walking about in leather shoes. This experience has intensified their conviction that the old way must go.

AMERICANS in China—with a few outstanding exceptions—have seen this desire for change as an invention of communism. Because we feared Communists we have supported men who oppose both change and communism. We have made Chiang Kai-shek so strong that he will not yield his spoils to any substantial concession or compromise. To still our consciences we have accepted shoddy promises of reform. Chiang has convened in Nanking a national assembly packed with his henchmen. While it blueprints a utopian constitution guaranteeing liberty to all men, police in Shanghai are given orders to shoot to kill at rioters, peasants in Szechwan band in uprisings, liberals flee the police of Shanghai to seek refuge in British Hong Kong.

By our actions we are achieving the very thing we fear most. We are persuading the middle groups in Chinese life—the vast non-partisan mass that looks with suspicion on both Chiang and the Communists—that there is no other way of change but violence; we have made the only active hope of change for them the armed might of the Communist Party.

THE BASIC principle of American action must be what will satisfy the demand for change of the Chinese people and what will do it most peacefully. In specific terms what we want is: village reform in the hinterland to still the discontent; the concentration of resources on the rehabilitation of the economy and commerce of the Yangtze; the manufacture of goods for human consumption, not for war; an immediate end to all civil war; the establishment of a political truce so that middle-of-the-road groups may flourish and develo leadership of their own.

This is the job of the Chinese peopl themselves; we cannot blueprint the reconstruction or their constitution. A we can do is to implement the Truma statement of December 15 by actio All military aid must be cut off and a things that can be used for war must b screened; the flow of metals for Chiang arsenals must end, so must the trainin schools for his officers, the presence c our Marines as guardians of his railwa lines. Commitments made for the trai ing of Chiang's navy and air corps an for the t ansshipment of goods an supplies from the Pacific islands must b abrogated with the valid statement th Chiang for his part has failed h promise to bring peace by politic means.

It is still possible that such a r organization of our policy will force th government and the Communists t make peace. But it may be that we a too late, that the civil war in China wi continue. If it does, it should contin without our aid, so that no blood wi stain our hands. Fighting without fo eign supplies, China's primitive armi will exhaust themselves more quick and with less bloodshed; and only aft such exhaustion may come compromi and lasting peace.

To argue that such a course is da gerous and difficult is more than tru But our present course is worse tha dangerous: it is doomed.

CONSCRIPTION, KUOMINTANG STYLE. WOODCUTS LIKE THIS WERE OUTLAWED BY CHUNGKING AUTHORITIES

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"Everybody's Always Talking About Taft" by Tris Coffin

enator Wherry—First of a series on the GOP high command

KENNETH WHERRY, the Republican whip of the Senate, is a product of the age that created Babbitt, Boob McNutt, the apper and jazz. He is the supersalesman. He has a tireless and ellicose enthusiasm for his product and works on his customers ith a three-cornered technique. He has the endurance of a Southrn filibusterer, the sympathetic cheerfulness of an undertaker and ıe single-minded determination of John L. Lewis.

Senator Wherry is selling the same roduct hawked by old Jim Watson of ıdiana when he was in the Senate and y Herbert Hoover, a wrap-up package economic conservatism, high tariffs ıd isclation. The slogans are new and ıe package has been redesigned. The oduct is widely advertised as a cure-l for high wages and prices, low wages ıd prices, communism and what Billy ose calls "delirium Trumans."

Wherry is a conspicuous figure from ıe Senate gallery. He looks and acts ke a salesman. He dresses in sporty egance suggestive of the country-club t. A huge diamond ring flashes on his ght hand. His curly black hair, graying the sides, looks as though it received)0 loving brush strokes before breakıst.

The Senator is not the kind of man ho relaxes easily. On the Senate floor, ther standing or sitting, he has the air a man gathering strength for a leap. e speaks so often it is difficult to reember him with his mouth closed and) sound coming out. He has one of the udest voices in Washington, and some epresentatives have complained that his eeches roar clear across the Capitol ıd spoil their enjoyment of John Ran-n. Wherry's old friends attribute this talent to the days when "Ken" was the loudest and best barker at the Pawnee County fair. His trademark, "Come on, folks, give 'em uh ha-a-a-nd, gi-i-ve mi-i-m uh ha-a-a-nd!," could be heard across the line in Kansas on a clear day.

KENNETH WHERRY makes a terrific first impression. When he bounded into the Senate in 1943 after defeating the great progressive, George Norris, he looked like the man to lead the Republican Party out of the wilderness. Some politicians, reporters and even gossip columnists took one look at him and decided here was something as new and vital as all-in-one vitamin capsules. Despite many signs that he is willing and even eager to fulfill their predictions, Wherry remains the supersalesman of the Republican Party, with all the faults and virtues of that classification. He has a failing common to all noisy adolescents. He doesn't know when to stop and often works the Senate up into a glassy-eyed state of indifference.

During one of the heated Senate debates on price control, Wherry tried to sell Democratic majority leader Alben Barkley on an amendment to raise the profit margin for retail merchants. The longer he talked, the more uninterested Barkley became. Finally after one of those exercises in patience which he enjoys, Senator Barkley took the floor to explain another section of the OPA bill.

The supersalesman was not through. He interrupted the Senator from Kentucky and snapped, "We have a right to establish our case here."

The conversation went back and forth. Wherry was either violent or sulky. He said, "We can establish our case in the Senator's time or my time." Barkley replied, "He has already taken up more of my time than I have myself." Wherry said, "If the Senator does not want to yield to me, very well." Barkley knew he had his audience with him and carefully led Wherry on, saying, "I have done nothing but yield." The Nebraska Senator clamored, "I ask the Senator to yield right now." Barkley threw up his hands in mock despair and replied, "Very well, I yield right now, right now, right now." The Senate laughed with the Democratic leader.

Later in the debate, Wherry became so involved that Taft had to lend him a hand. This was a service which the Nebraskan did not appreciate.

WHERRY lacks the air of profundity that two fellow GOP Senators, Vandenberg or Millikin, seem to be able to give their words, and he has none of the sharp, cold logic of Taft. A Nebraskan who has known Wherry well for many years says of him, "From my observation of him, he is neither the legislative nor statesmanlike type. He never will be. He is a salesman, a salesman of automobiles, a salesman of furniture, a salesman of livestock, a salesman of hardware, a salesman of Republicanism. All that but nothing more."

Kinder description of Wherry was published as an editorial in the *Nebraska State Journal,* a Republican paper, two years ago: "People knew him as a great big genial fellow whom everybody liked and who displayed violent symptoms of liking everybody. People knew him also as the kind of a man who could convert the annual meeting of the humane society into a save-the-republic crusade. . . . He does not attend meetings, he disrupts them."

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In real life (politics being a fantasy), Kenneth Wherry is an amazingly successful and versatile salesman. He is a partner of Wherry Brothers, of Pawnee City, Nebraska, which sells farm implements and machinery, hardware, furniture and automobiles. He has also been engaged in selling livestock and farms. For the past 25 years he has been a licensed embalmer and funeral director. Senator Guffey of Pennsylvania, referring to this talent of Wherry's, described him in this tender phrase, "The tri-state mortician." In the days before he was so busy organizing the world, Wherry was president of the Pawnee County Agricultural Society, an active Presbyterian and a vigorous Kiwanian. He became an energetic and loyal party wheel horse early in life. Being a Republican was as important as being a good church member and Kiwanian. His first office was city councilman, then Mayor of Pawnee City.

Wherry was elected to the State Senate 18 years ago. It may seem ironic today, but in those days Wherry gained the reputation of an insurgent and attached himself to the Norris wing of the GOP. He worked closely with Norris' chief lieutenant, Attorney General C. A. Sorensen, who helped him with his speeches and gave him ideas for legislation. The two coöperated on one of the most successful causes in Nebraska during the thirties. Sorensen was the idea man, Wherry the salesman. They demanded that the state, which had a deposit-guarantee law, repay depositors of banks which had failed. An initiative proposal was put on the ballot and it won. This was Wherry's first taste of victory and public acclaim. It tasted sweet and strong.

When George Norris was a reluctant candidate for reëlection to the U. S. Senate in 1930, Kenneth Wherry was an exuberant supporter. Twelve years later, he defeated Norris and won his seat in the Senate.

AS A POLITICIAN, Wherry has always had the unlimited self-confidence of the supersalesman. He waged a heated battle for the Republican nomination for Governor in 1932, although even the most pronounced partisans shook their heads sadly and said this was no year for the GOP. Wherry lost the nomination but not his enthusiasm. He tried, again unsuccessfully, for the senatorial nomination in 1934.

UNBIASED REPORTERS are convinced that Wherry was responsible for the early return of Nebraska to the Republican fold. He was the driving spirit behind the GOP state committee and in 1940 became the name on the letterhead as state chairman. Under the tradition of Nebraska, political workers are rewarded by nominations for public office.

Organizer and promoter Wherry did as thorough a job as when he pulled together the county fair. Nebraska went solidly Republican in 1940. Congressman Joe Martin, then GOP national chairman, spoke rapturously of the new find and named him Western director in 1942.

In that year, a tired and old George Norris was persuaded against his better judgment to run once again for the Senate, as an independent, "to aid in formulating the peace." Wherry, glowing with success and good health, won the Republican nomination in a walkaway. Foster May, a radio voice attached to a considerable ego, got the Democratic nomination. Norris spent most of the time in the Senate where the Administration needed his influence and wisdom. When he did return to Nebraska, his voice was only a whisper compared to the combined wind of Wherry and May. Democratic politicians refused the Administration call to help the great old man; they actively fought his independent campaign.

As the election returns dribbled in, the triumphant Wherry gloated, "It was a hard-fought campaign in which the issues were clear-cut. They were issues that affected every citizen. The fight was against New Dealism and its promoters. I championed Americanism." To Norris the bitterest part of his defeat was that it came from a man he then regarded as such a "phony."

Wherry has been an early and persistent critic of price controls. His intention was plainly murder, but no one took him seriously when he began his campaign right after V-J Day. He turned the Senate Small Business Committee into a platform for the attack, even before the Republican high comman had made up its mind.

I remember one day when he dragge John Snyder, looking as miserable as man with a bad cold and hangover, be fore the committee. Lobbyists sat ove at one side gleefully prepared for th worst. Wherry asked sarcastically wha Snyder thought of the "Bowles pro gram" to put price ceilings on dwelling The Missouri crony blinked and an swered meekly that, well, he didn understand the proposal very well. H hadn't had time to study it."

Wherry smiled triumphantly an asked, "Don't you think that control over materials and homes slow produc tion?" Snyder answered in a low, un happy monotone that he would have t study it more. He had only a small staf He had to take the OPA's word fo things.

With Bowles, Wherry's tactic change from sympathetic understanding to shar cross-examination. Bowles was readin a statement: ". . . . I think there is a tre mendous need for housing."

Wherry snapped, "You assume so That is just your opinion."

Bowles replied sweetly, "Oh, so yo say there is no need."

The Senator's voice rose to an en raged shout, "It's up to you to prov the need."

The OPA chief read on, "There need for housing for veterans."

Wherry interrupted again, "How d you know? Talk, talk, talk."

THE LITTLE BONFIRE started b Wherry flamed over the Capitc He almost monopolized the Senate floo Every day he would roar into batt during the period when the Administr tion was trying to get some sort of bi after the President's veto. As Wher sat down, Pepper would get up and rea the list of rising prices. The Nebrask Senator would scowl fiercely across th aisle. This became a daily ritual.

Wherry's broadside attack was em barrassing to the Republican strategis who wanted to avoid any responsibili for the death of price controls. Bob Ta favored a more indirect method—mu der by amendment. When the Oh Senator voted for the compromise OP bill, Wherry stormed to the floor an

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shouted, "Such leadership is weak-kneed, spineless and does not meet the need of legislative authority."

The Nebraska mortician has an opinion on every major issue that has come to the Hill.

On foreign affairs, he said, "Russia is a real menace to the peace and security of the world. But Russia would never have reached this stage in her aggressions had it not been for the weakness of the State Department policy. . . . We need desperately to clean out the Communist influences in the State Department which, for some strange reason, have wielded such a sinister influence during the last few years." He voted against the confirmation of that New England patrician, Dean Acheson, for Under Secretary of State, and was so angry when other Republicans refused to follow his lead that he threatened to resign as party whip. He was one of 14 isolationists voting against the resolution making the United States the first member of UNRRA.

WHERRY'S great cross is that while the Republicans are willing to let him be a salesman and cheer leader they are not willing to let him run the strategy. This was behind his violent attack upon Bob Taft, who is a strategist, last summer and his recent fight on Taft's candidacy as floor leader. He was considerably annoyed when President Truman singled out Taft for criticism and ignored him. At an impromptu press conference, Wherry snarled, "Taft! Taft! Everybody's always talking about what Taft has done to the OPA. I'm the fellow that knocked out meat control, and I've done more to that bill than anybody else." It is behind his present trip to Europe "to study conditions." In the coming session he can be expected to challenge the policies of Senator Arthur Vandenberg.

Kenneth Wherry intends to talk and talk until the Republican Party takes him seriously or he wears down the resistance of his enemies by sheer energy and persistence. One of the great shows of the next Congress will be to watch Taft, who is more adroit at these things, stick a knife in Wherry's ambitions and slowly turn it. The battle of a wasp and the bull.

Britain and America

by Jack Winocour

An exclusive New Republic interview with R. H. S. Crossman, British Labor Member of Parliament

R. H. S. Crossman, Labor Party member of the British House of Commons, was the leader of the recent "back-bench revolt" against the foreign policy of Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary. Temporarily the quarrel has been settled, at least as far as the Labor Party's internal discipline is concerned. But sharp differences of opinion lie close beneath the surface of the Labor Party and are expected to emerge into the open in the near future. — THE EDITORS

YOU DON'T easily forget Dick Crossman. I hadn't, although more than 11 years had passed since I last saw him back at Oxford, when he was a don at New College. We rather doubted even then that he would settle down to academic life. He didn't.

When I met him again in the central lobby of the House of Commons, he hadn't changed very much physically. His face was pale and tired; his blond hair graying at the temples.

Here is what Crossman had to say in answer to my questions.

Q. *Why did you propose the foreign-policy amendment to the King's speech?*

A. If it hadn't been for Henry Wallace's letter to President Truman, the debate on foreign policy might never have taken place. Wallace's exposure of the inner forces at work within the American Administration, and particularly in the War and Navy Departments, opened our eyes and helped us prepare the ground for our action. Members of Parliament who had the opportunity of studying this important document were not misled by the apparently anti-British passages in his speech. On sober study they accepted its analyses. We realized that it was time to call a halt to our being swept along by present United States policy.

Q. *Do you think that American liberals and British Social Democrats can aid one another in the present crisis?*

A. Yes. Their action should be complementary. The main attention of British Social Democrats must be directed toward events on the continent of Europe and in the Middle East where we are facing a problem which is primarily political in our relations with Russia. On the other hand the chief interest of American liberals should lie in their country's conduct of affairs in the Far East, where an American economic empire may come about in some haphazard way—rather like that in which our own grew up.

Special American privileges in the Philippines, annexation of island bases without benefit of United Nations sanction, US paramountcy in the occupation of Japan, and commercial penetration of China are all signs of the development of economic and strategic imperialism.

In particular American liberals should carefully observe the political repercussions of the deployment of American surplus capital in the Far East, where the end result may be a violent Communist reaction to economic infiltration. The question is whether American liberals can do anything to prevent the eventual export of unemployment.

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Our Railroads Are a Vital Part of Our National Security

Every citizen should take time out now to warn the Military Affairs Committee of what is going on

September 24, 1946

Honorable Alfred Schindler
Acting Secretary of Commerce
Commerce Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Schindler:

After another day of unsettlement in security prices I read in this morning's New York Times:

> **"Mr. Schindler filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission a statement declaring that 'economic wisdom' called for 'withholding additional increases in freight rates until the traffic, the revenues and operating expense picture for the remaining months of 1946 and the early months of 1947 is clear.'"**

Testimony has already gone into the records that the railroads this year will earn a return of 1.34% on their investment and next year will probably earn nothing. This at a time of record breaking traffic.

A petition for a freight rate increase has now been pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission since away back in 1941. The Commission is instructed by Congress to prescribe rates that will provide "revenues sufficient to enable the carriers . . . to provide . . . efficient transportation."

Since 1933 five wage increases have been granted aggregating 90%. Fuel prices are up 117% and other supplies 86%. Yet freight rates today are *lower* than they were then; and the rate of return on investment has averaged only 2.75%, an amount pitifully inadequate to attract new capital. In the meantime other utilities serving the public have been allowed to earn two or three times as much. Could there be a clearer case for the railroads' long pending request than these simple facts?

Yet hearings, at great expense to the railroads and the taxpayer, have been going on ad infinitum. To cap the climax of chicanery and folly, the railroads, early in September, were forced, by the stalling tactics of the Commission, to publicly *predict calamity and bankruptcy by 1947.* Naturally, a market panic followed and railroad credit weakened. In direct consequence the railroads, as well as allied industries, may be forced to "lay off," and "to abandon" long-delayed plans for improvements. A private facility, yet one as vital as the Army, well able to pay its own way, is being maneuvered into public charge and public expense by public servants paid to *foster*, not destroy.

The public who pays your salary—to say nothing of the Military Affairs Committees of the Senate and House—is entitled to a clear statement as to why, in the light of the above facts, you think that the railroads are not entitled to help from the man who occupies your office.

Sincerely,

Robert R Young

Chairman of the Board, Alleghany Corporation

P. S. I am wondering if you made any attempt to withhold recent wage increases until the situation became "clear."

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It is true that at the moment the predominant motives inspiring US foreign policy are strategic, but there are a few ruthless men in the US who are prepared to go further along the road of empire. We hope that American liberals will learn from our own bitter experience.

Q. *What do you think are the prospects for American liberals in the next few years?*

A. We British Social Democrats are seeking to recast our foreign policy on what appears to us to be the reasonable assumption that the Republicans will capture the presidency in 1948. Even if there is a depression within the next two years, we can't reckon on a liberal revival within that space of time. The trinity of Roosevelt, Hillman and Wallace on which the American New Deal was based has come to an end. We don't know when the second New Deal may come. It may take ten years. But the issue of peace and war will be decided in the next five years.

We wish American liberals all the luck in the world. But if they are to make a comeback, they will have to succeed in clearing up the Communist issue, as left-wing parties must do everywhere. We think we've done it here in Britain. It is Communist influence in the American liberal movement which raises the bogey of British imperialism, just as Communists here are the worst blackeners of the United States.

Q. *Some of your supporters in the debate have been accused of being anti-American. What do you say to that?*

A. The majority of Labor members who supported our abstention in the vote on the amendment are friends of the United States. We fully realize how greatly American liberal public opinion can aid us, and that in the long run a second New Deal will be necessary to save the world from catastrophe.

Q. *If America is about to enter a Republican decade, what is the effect on Anglo-American relations likely to be?*

A. With the Republicans in power, inevitably there will be an even sharper trade conflict between the US and England. For us trade is a life-and-death issue, and Bevin cannot give way on it. In the debate we were trying to prepare the way for an independent role in the International Trade and Employment Conference. We hardly expect the Republicans to lower US tariffs; and indeed a prominent American businessman said to me the other day with grave solemnity: "I assure you that we won't *raise* tariffs"! But if the Americans don't lower their tariffs, we cannot abandon our imperial preferences, and the clash will come.

Even if Britain and the United States amicably partition world markets over the next few years when demand will exceed supply, it is most likely that America's share would lie in the Far East, and that would bring her up against Russia.

Britain and Russia

Q. *Prime Minister Attlee in his reply laid some stress on your failure to mention the United States. Have you any comment to make?*

A. The Prime Minister's criticism was perfectly fair. Pressure of time required me considerably to curtail my speech. Of course we must work to make the United Nations a success. But the UN will be an utter unreality if the world drifts into two irreconcilable blocs. Britain's middle position between the US and Russia offers us the only reasonable chance of making the UN work. We cannot faithfully fulfill our progressive function in world affairs except in independence.

We can understand the reasons that impelled Attlee and Bevin to tie up with the US in the United Nations. We had a bitter experience with the Russians all through last winter when they were pushing at us through Persia and nagging at us in the Security Council over Indonesia and Greece.

Q. *Were you satisfied with Mr. Attlee's replies to the questions you put to him in the debate?*

(Crossman asked Attlee: 1. Will the Government disavow the proposals for an Anglo-American alliance outlined in Churchill's Fulton speech? 2. Has the Government agreed to standardization of arms and equipment between America and this country? If so will part of the British equipment be supplied from America? 3. Are staff conversations now proceeding between Britain and America?)

A. Some of his replies were d ingenuous. My question about standar zation of arms was intended to bri out into the open the ugly rumor th America might supply the weapons ar Britain the manpower for future mi tary operations against Russia. If th issue were put plainly and squarely the British labor movement, it wou overwhelmingly repudiate it. It means slowdown in demobilization here ar the imposition of permanent conscri tion. And where would it lead? Th country will just not fight Russia.

Q. *What do you think has been t effect of your action on the Gover ment?*

A. It was highly embarrassing to t cabinet to find that they had to rely c Conservative Party support. We we trying to drive a wedge between t Government and the Tories on foreig policy. What also annoyed the Gover ment was that the debate was stage at the very moment when our repr sentatives in the United States were c their knees in Washington, asking f food for our zone of Germany. B in some circumstances it is useful f the Government to have back-benche say what ministers themselves cannot.

Continuation of the present "coal tion" with the Tories on foreign poli might split the party, if the moveme suspects that Britain is to provide t men, and America the arms, for w with Russia.

The real test for the Governme will come in about two months' tim on the second reading of the conscri tion bill. And it is worth noting th over 20 of the Labor MP's who vote with the Government against our amen ment opposed the Government on t conscription amendment.

Q. *Will the MP's, who supporte your amendment by abstention for var ing reasons, hold together and form definite group within the party?*

A. I sincerely hope there won't b any such caucus. If there is, it will b liquidated in no time. The Labor Par doesn't permit the formation of inte nal caucuses. We don't want to b come a futile faction. The way we a going we have seized the initiati from the crypto-communists and a making our influence really felt.

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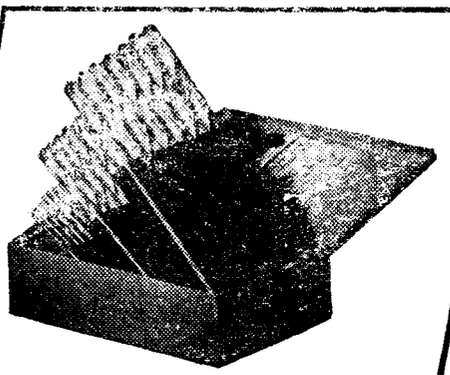

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A New Deal With Russia: I

This is the first of a series of six New Republic articles on the world's number one problem, a Soviet-American settlement — The Editors

THE PICTURE which many Americans have of the Soviet Union is the classic one of the bear that walks like a man. The picture which many Russians have of America is that of a man who stalks him like a bear. The crisis between the two nations springs from mutual misinformation. Until we get the main facts about one another it is hard to see how we are going to get together on anything.

All that the Soviet citizen ever hears about the United States is what his official mentors want him to. But when it comes to our own information about the Soviet Union, almost all that we learn has been judiciously selected for our consumption by great conservative press associations, syndicates and newspapers wealthy enough to have their own correspondents in Moscow. The State Department keeps a careful eye on whoever goes into the Soviet Union and what he brings out.

Ever since the Russian advance into Germany, we have been hearing stories of plunder in Russian-occupied zones. In these reports there has been a good deal of truth—and also a good deal of exaggeration.

What did Russia actually lose? How much have lend-lease and American relief actually done for her? Why does she say she needs more aid from us—and will there be any advantage to us in giving it to her?

Once we answer these questions, we may be one step closer toward the common ground of understanding.

The Extraordinary State Commission of the USSR has estimated the damage of the war to Russia's national economy and to individual citizens at over 679 billion rubles, or about $128 billion.*

As a result of the destruction of towns and villages and the great industrial and cultural centers, 25 million Russians were left homeless. By the end of the war, the Russians had suffered 17 million soldier and civilian deaths—ten times as many as had the United States and Britain combined.

The Soviet direct war expenditure in the period 1941-45 amounted to 471.4 billion rubles, or about $89 billion.† (See table on page 810.)

And to this, you have to add the costs of food and supplies confiscated by the German occupation troops, and the retarding of the country's general economic development. So great was the havoc that even if Russia stripped to the bone all the territories now occupied by her armies, she could not make good more than a fraction of her losses.

What Lend-Lease Did for Russia

Speeded by the efforts of President Roosevelt, American lend-lease goods began moving to the Soviet Union less than six months after she was attacked and one month before Pearl Harbor. As the figures in the table on page 812 show, the aid we gave was on a colossal scale. By the end of 1945 the total value of what we had sent exceeded $11 billion. Yet great as was this effort on our part, it was by no means the only thing that kept Russia going. While we helped Russia, she also helped herself. In the years 1943-45, for instance, the Soviets managed to produce some 120,000 airplanes and 90,000 tanks on their own. What we sent them in these categories was about one-tenth of their own production total.

Nobody should try to underrate the extent of our wartime aid to the Soviet Union. But when you total it all up, you find that in money terms it was equivalent to what we would have spent in 44 days on our own military forces at our peak rate of 1945. And it is worth noting that what we supplied to the Soviet Union was equal to just a little over one-third of all that we supplied to the British Empire.*

Who Gets Postwar Relief?

On any day in Tokyo, you can see Japanese drivers sitting in the cabs of American trucks that have been turned over to Japan. On any day in Frankfort or Munich you can see German officials going about their business in cars fueled with American gas.

But while American officials believe that we have a duty to give emergency relief to the defeated enemy, they are not so sure that we also have a duty to relieve our most stricken allies. Some allies, yes—but not those with whom we happen to have political differences. For instance, during the first 18 months of UNRRA's operations, the two hardest-hit Soviet Republics—the Ukraine and Byelorussia—were excluded from all relief. It was not until the summer of 1945 that they were allowed to present their relief require-

(Continued on page 810)

** The figure given is at the official rate of 5.3 rubles to the dollar. Actually this is a purely artificial rate. The present diplomatic rate is 12:1 and the real rate of exchange is even higher than that.*

† Compared with the US war expenditures of $330 billion, the Russian outlay may appear small. But it should not be forgotten that Russia spent vast sums on armament prior to the war.

** Reverse lend-lease from the British Empire, cumulative to September 2, 1945, was $6,306,250; from the USSR, $2,213,000; this includes use of air fields, barracks, hospitals, storage depots, food and clothing, aviation gasoline and other supplies, shipping services, transportation and communication facilities.*

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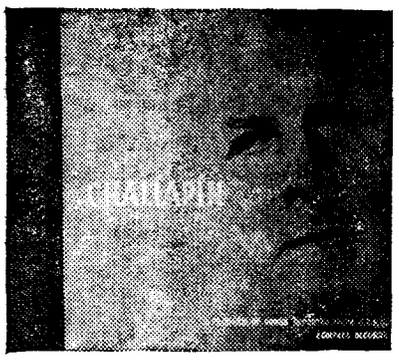

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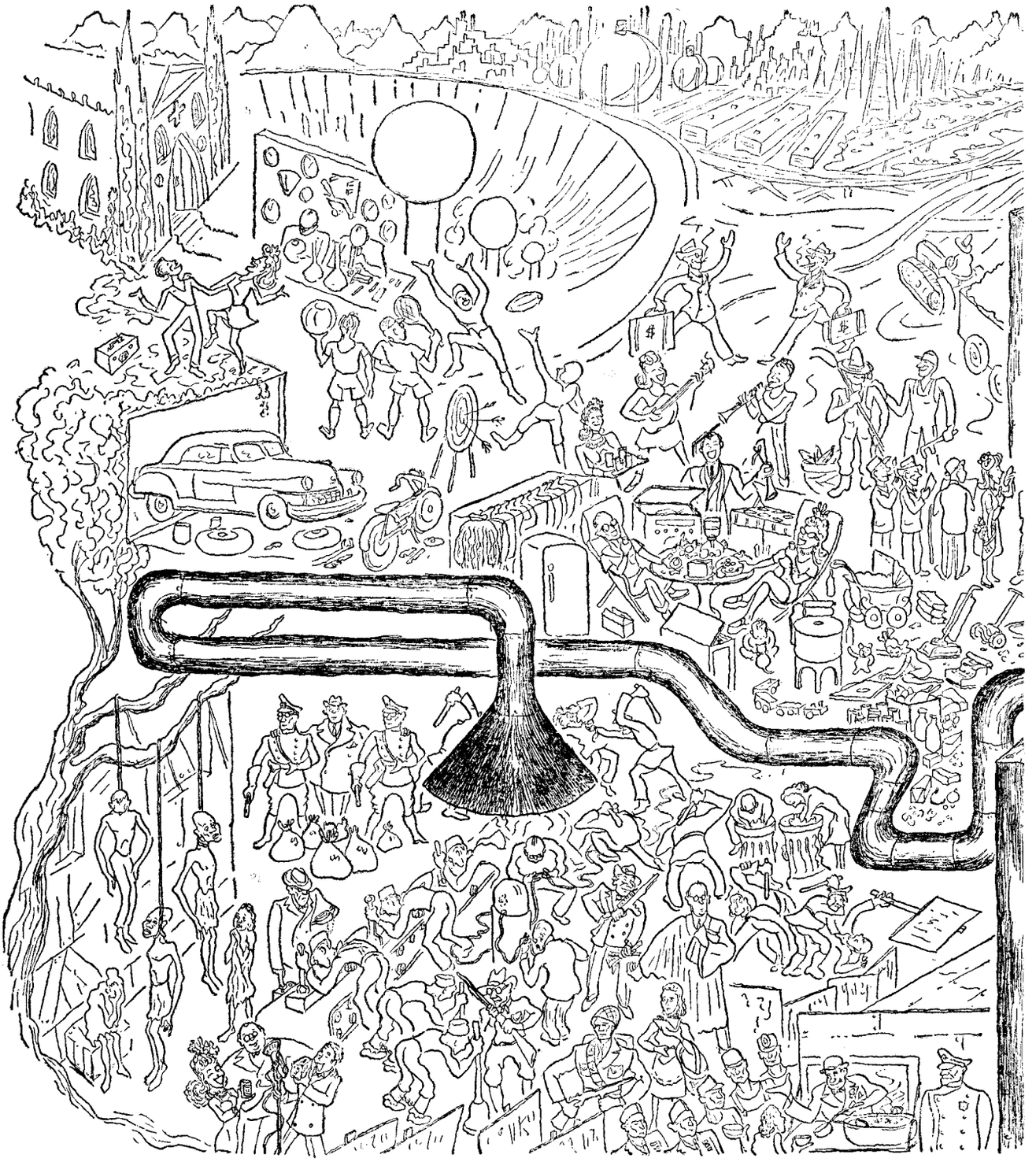

Visual Education for Adults:

The Iron Curtain

HERE is the barrier that separate two peoples. Do you want to se what life is like on the other side? Ste up, ladies and gentlemen, and take look through that modern mechanica marvel—the collide-oscope. By a com plicated system of prisms, reflectors an loops, it is designed so that you can se

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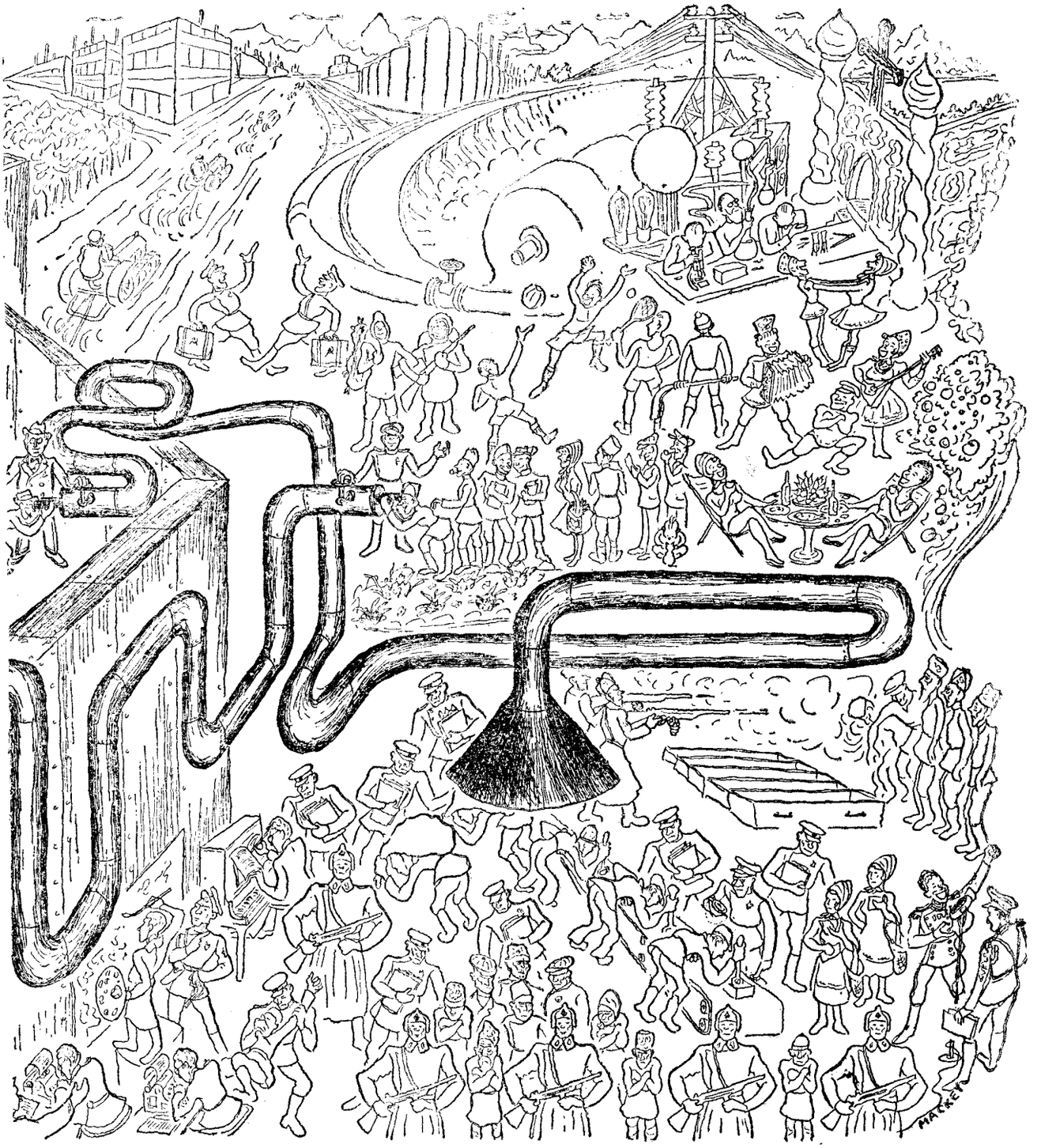

whatever the men at the controls select. Its range, however, is limited: on the left of the barrier lies America, but the official Soviet collide-oscope focuses only on a part of it. Meanwhile the Americans who line up on their side for a glimpse of Russia see some pretty strange sights for their money too.

This remarkable machine works on the elementary optical principle of distortion, and can be operated equally well by commissars, newspaper owners and diplomats. It detects and enlarges scenes of violence and excess but it has seldom been known to pick up and transmit pictures of people just being themselves. Americans and Russians driving their tractors, or Americans and Russians going to church, or Americans and Russians just passing the time of day—none of that ever comes through the collide-oscope. The only way to see *that* is to build a ladder of good will, climb the wall and take a good look.

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The Soviet Union's War Toll

Destroyed Towns, Houses, Public Buildings	
Towns	1,710
Villages or Hamlets	70,000
Houses	6,000,000
Hospitals, Medical Centers	40,000
Educational, Research Institutes	84,000
Public Libraries	43,000

Destroyed Industrial Plant and Equipment	
Industrial Plants	31,850
Electric Motors (destroyed, removed)	239,000
Metal-cutting lathes (destroyed, removed)	175,000

Destroyed Transport and Communications	
Railway Track (mis.)	40,625
Railway Stations	4,100
Railway Bridges	13,000
Locomotive Depots	317
Steam and Motor Locomotives	15,800
Freight and Passenger Cars	428,000
Passenger and Freight Vessels	4,280
Ports and Docks	479
Post, Telegraph and Telephone	36,000

Destroyed Farms, Farm Equipment, Livestock	
Collective Farms	98,000
State Farms	1,876
Machine-tractor Stations	2,890
Horses	7,000,000
Cattle	17,000,000
Hogs	20,000,000
Sheep and Goats	27,000,000
Poultry	110,000,000

(Continued from page 806)

ments. Then, after Russia's relief needs had been debated for many weeks, her share was finally scaled down from the $700 million requested to $250 million.

Now, how much relief have the war-ravaged Byelorussian and Ukrainian republics actually received? Up to now UNRRA has shipped $250 million worth to both as against $350 million to Greece, $424 million to Yugoslavia, $425 million to Italy and $474 million to Poland.

The Soviet Union, to be sure, gave its enemies a talking point when it confused relief with foreign policy and shipped some grain to France. Another item that did not help was a statement in a Moscow paper to the effect that the Argentine-Soviet trade agreement might be implemented by the sale of Russian tractors to Argentina. But whatever blunders the Russians may have made, they have not played us false. They have not—as charged—tried to conceal from the people in Soviet-dominated areas the source of the UNRRA supplies they have been receiving. And now we are busy liquidating UNRRA — chiefly because we do not wish to go on sending them anything. We have our "tough" foreign policy to consider.

In 1944, just after the siege of Leningrad had been lifted, a group of American correspondents went to the famous Kirov works in that city. As they looked through the wreck of what had been one of the great machine-tool plants in Russia, the director, Nikolai D. Puzyrev, said: "I was counting on buying lots of new machinery from the Germans after the war, but I don't think they'll have any to sell. So I'll have to get it from America and Britain."

To Lend or Not to Lend

During the war, whenever an American like Donald M. Nelson or Eric Johnston of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States visited Russia, one of the first things the Soviets always asked was, "What about your granting us long-term loans after the war?" When Stalin received Johnston before the Roosevelt-Dewey election of 1944, he buttonholed him with the question, "Supposing the Republicans come into office, do you think we will still get those loans?" "Sure you will," Johnston is reported to have said.

The Russians need a long-term credit if they are to buy goods from us. And there are a lot of things we would like to sell. Ernest C. Ropes, of the Department of Commerce, reported after a visit to the USSR, "There is almost no limit to what the Russians would purchase in the United States if a credit of one billion were advanced."

Before we lend them money, of course, there are two things we want to know: First, will they use it simply to build up their armaments? And second, will they pay it back? The answer to the first question would seem to be that they are pretty well up on armaments already. They must get the machines that make the machine tools. If they can't get them from us, they will have to start from the beginning and build these machines themselves.

As to the second question, the best answer to that is that in the past they have always paid up. Their government has survived counter-revolutions, foreign intervention and the bloodiest invasion in history. The Soviet Union would appear to be a good credit risk.

Then why no loan to Russia so far? In the fiscal year 1945-46 we granted loans totaling $1,870 million to other liberated and devastated European countries. We lent $3.75 billion to Great Britain—but not a penny to Russia.

After her request for a loan had been "lost" in US Government files for several months, it leaked out that before granting it we also wanted to discuss: 1. general economic conditions in Eastern Europe, particularly Russia's trade treaties with Rumania and Hungary; 2. Soviet intentions toward the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund; 3. Soviet intentions with regard to world trade, especially the International Trade Organization, and American desires for the reduction of trade barriers; and 4, a lend-lease settlement.

Now, the Russians feel that in making these proposals we are taking undue advantage of our financial power, especially when we use Russia's need for a reconstruction loan as a basis for interfering in her economic settlements with ex-enemy countries in the Balkans. The Russians resent the whole idea that

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our foreign-credit commitments should be closely linked with our foreign policy. But even if Russia were willing to discuss the conditions set by the United States as a prerequisite to loan negotiations, the best guess now is that there is no chance for a $1-billion loan and probably no chance for any loan to Russia at all. The Export-Import Bank has only about $500 million uncommitted now, and the new Republican Congress can be counted on to go very slowly in appropriating additional large sums. We say we want to build up international trade and thus keep nations from reverting into the kind of economic autarchy that led to chaos and war, but we don't wish to build up trade now with the Soviet Union. If we do not do it, though, it is pretty certain that the Russians will have to go all-out for autarchy.

If Not Loans, Reparations

It stands to reason that if the Russians can get neither UNRRA relief nor reconstruction loans from us, they must try to fill their needs by levying heavy tribute on the nations that attacked them. That the Soviet Union is entitled to a major share of German reparations was conceded by the other big powers. Under the Potsdam Agreement, Russia was allowed to remove from her zone all industrial capital equipment that was "unnecessary for the German peace economy," as well as German assets in Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Rumania and eastern Austria. (Moreover, since by far the larger share of Germany's industrial plant is situated in western Germany, the Soviet Union was also to receive 25 percent of all the plant equipment earmarked for removal from these zones.) No one knows just how much the Russians have taken out of Germany. Secretary Byrnes estimates that the USSR has already received the equivalent of $14 billion. A more conservative estimate of $6 billion has also been given. But whatever the actual figure, the fact remains that at Potsdam we agreed to demands higher than what the Soviets have actually been able so far to obtain. At present the Russians are demanding reparations of $10 billion from Germany—a mere fraction of the claims for $300 billion submitted by other invaded countries to the Inter-Allied Reparation Agency.* As for Germany's former satellites, they are at present down on the books for $900 million reparations (Rumania and Finland for $300 million each, Hungary for $200 million, and Italy for $100 million), which is to be paid in the form of merchant ships, food, raw materials and manufactured goods. In view of the damage done to Russia, the figures do not seem excessive.

The charge is often made that what the Russians are trying to do in Eastern Europe and the Balkans is to disrupt the economies of the Axis satellites in order to pave the way for their communization and possibly their eventual integration into the Soviet Union. But what Russia actually needs above all is to round up all the food, consumer goods and industrial machinery she can lay hands on. As her trade agreements with non-enemy countries show, she is ready to pay for such imports. It does not look as if we ourselves are much interested in impo from the countries concerned. What certain number of Americans are v much interested in, though, is th investments in Central Europe—parti larly the $340 million worth of Am ican property in Germany, the $50 m lion in Rumania, the $13 million Hungary and the $10 million in A tria. This property was taken over the Germans at the outbreak of w Now, in turn, a good deal of it is b ing taken over from the Germans the Soviets. The thought of these lon lost properties turns many an Americ investor against the whole idea reparations to Russia.

* *Actual payments have been scaled down to a more realistic $1.35 billion by the Paris Peace Conference.*

Russia on Her Own

In their anxious search for materi that will help put them back on th feet, the Russians have had to try o method and then another. As a resu their shifts in policy have broug them into open disagreement with t other occupying powers in Germar In the first stage of occupation, t Russians concentrated on removing i dustrial equipment from their zone. ? by May, 1946, it had become clear th they were not going to be able to cov their whole reparations claims in th way and so they reversed themselv and began building up German indu trial production instead of furth pulling it apart. Their idea was to c lect reparations in the form of curre output. But this departure was contra to the Potsdam Agreement, which e pressly provides that exports from Ge many must be used first to pay for i ports of essential goods for the Germ people. Meanwhile, instead of d mantling the Zeiss optical works

Lend-Lease Shipments to the Soviet Union: A Partial List

Planes	14,795	Cargo vessels (transferred)	90
Tanks	7,056	Foodstuffs (short tons)	4,478,000
Jeeps	51,503	Machinery, Equipment	$1,078,965,000
Trucks	375,883	Steel (short tons)	2,800,000
Tractors	8,071	Non-ferrous metals (short tons)	802,000
Anti-aircraft guns	8,218	Petroleum products (short tons)	2,670,000
Submachine guns	131,633	Chemicals (short tons)	842,000
Explosives (short tons)	345,735	Cotton cloth (yards)	106,893,000
Locomotives	1,981	Army boots (pairs)	15,417,000
Freight cars	11,155		

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By **KENNETH FEARING**

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Jena and the Buna synthetic rubber works near Halle, the Russians have pushed the output of these plants to and above prewar levels—all in order to provide themselves with reparations. They have not only stopped removal of machinery but in several cases have actually brought back equipment which they had taken to the Ukraine, so to make use of German skilled labor and natural resources.

The Russians would like to sell this idea to the other occupying powers. The Americans and British, on the other hand, would like to sell the Russians on the idea of treating Germany as an economic whole. The two ideas are not incompatible. But tempers on both sides of the East-West division line in Germany have been raised by the fact that the Russians have refused to exchange goods from their zone for imports from the Anglo-American zones, on the ground that the latter are due to them anyway as reparations, and also because the Americans and British have now stopped shipping plants from their zones to the Russians, in order to try to force the Soviets to play ball with the idea of "economic unity."

There can be no question but that the Russians have been "tough" on the people of the areas they occupy. Their policies in Germany have not been consistent, and in Eastern Europe they have played a lone hand. But if they have been tougher than we, that is because the losses they suffered in the war were so much vaster than ours. We have declared ourselves for Allied unity and the ideal of the United Nations, but when it comes to the allocation of relief and reconstruction aid, we have discriminated sharply against the Soviets.

One thing so far is certain: Russia's immediate need for food, credit and machinery exerts a strong effect on her foreign policy. If she cannot get these things from her wartime allies, she must tighten up her whole economy and try to produce everything that she needs within her own borders. And if she sets about doing this, as the pariah among great nations, we shall find her being forced to building a higher and higher wall about herself. About all we are sending her now is the bricks with which to build such a wall.

Hood River Odyssey

by Ralph G. Martin

IF YOU HAD never heard of it before, you would have thought that Hood River was just another town, a quiet place sitting in a frame of mountains at the end of the winding loveliness of the Columbia River gorge. But if you remembered things, you walked down the streets searching for signs that weren't there. Then finally, you asked somebody where the courthouse was.

Because, even though you had never been here before, you remembered the courthouse best of all. You had heard about it on one of those slushy December days in 1944 on the Seventh Army front in France. It was a small story in the *Stars and Stripes* telling how the Hood River American Legion Post had wiped off the names of 16 Nisei soldiers from their Honor Roll on the side of their courthouse building.

You remembered all this so vividly because you had asked some 36th Division soldiers what they thought about it. They were all alive that day because a Nisei regiment, the 442nd, had punched through to save their starving, cut-off Lost Battalion. Most of what they had to say about Hood River you couldn't print.

SO NOW you walked quickly toward the courthouse and looked up at the long columns. Even in the dimness of twilight, you could see the freshly repainted names of the Nisei.

Why did they fight in this war, anyway? Well, some went because they would have gone anywhere to get out of the barbed-wire concentration camps into which the Army had forced them. The rest, because they wanted to prove to the world that they were as good American citizens as anybody. Only a bitter few said no, thanks, why the hell should we?

Not Fred Hachiya. They gave him the Silver Star when they buried him in Leyte.

And not Sagie Nishioka, who just got his forty-second blood transfusion Nishioka wrote a letter, which the Reverend W. Sherman Burgoyne read in his Hood River pulpit, saying that he had already forgiven the misguided people who had broken into his home and had smashed or "borrowed" his fine furniture. The one desire of his life now was that some day he would be able to come back and work in his pear orchard.

While Burgoyne read the letter aloud the stores in Hood River had signs in their window reading, NO JAP TRADE. Kent Shoemaker, local Legion bigwig, was running a full-page weekly ad in the town paper saying once a Jap always a Jap and don't believe all that baloney that they didn't commit any sabotage here and would you want your daughter to marry a Jap?

Shoemaker also featured a poem which read:

Hood River, Golden Valley of the Hills
Who is to possess its acres and rills,
A horde of aliens from across the sea
Or shall it be a Paradise for you and me

Signing the ad were dozens of Hood Riverites who wanted the Paradise for themselves. Most of them were farmers who had rented land from the Nisei and wanted to keep it. This now-rich land was once unwanted stumpland, given to Japanese workers in lieu of wages before the First World War.

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. . . "That's another thing I don't like about those damn Japs. They work too hard. Unfair competition. . . ."

"As we have said time and again," remarked Kent Shoemaker, approving the erasure of the Nisei names, "there is no economic issue involved in our action. This is our America and we love it. Can *any* good American blame us for wanting to preserve this beautiful valley for *our* posterity?"

From Pearl Harbor, Marine Sergeant David White wrote home: "Why did you do it? We're ashamed to say we're from Oregon now, much less Hood River."

Somebody else wrote: "If you rub off those 16 Nisei names, rub mine off too."

THE PAYOFF came when Kent Shoemaker's own soldier son, Ed, wrote a letter to the editor saying how much he disagreed with his Dad, how proud he was of the Nisei friends with whom he had grown up and who had proved their citizenship ten times over.

The tension became crucial in January, 1945, when the first three Nisei returned. Ray Sato, Min Asai and Sat Noji walked down Main Street and saw people look through them as if they were ghosts. In front of the poolroom, a few of the regulars stared at them and spat. And when Ray saw an old friend and rushed over with his hand outstretched, the old friend gave him a glassy look and walked right by. The kids jeered, "Japs . . . Japs . . . Japs. . . ."

Everybody waited for an explosion. The town grapevine rumored lynchings, burnings, beatings; the three Nisei slept together at Ray's place and waited for the worst.

It never came. They whispered that some FBI men had come to town and warned Shoemaker and Company that they would be held responsible for any violence.

Then a few of the signs came down. A gas-station operator named Kramer announced that he had decided there was no difference between a Nisei Japanese and a Nisei German and he was a Nisei German.

Another sign came down when a former Marine captain who had had Nisei in his outfit came back from the Pacific and pointed to the sign in his father's store window. "What the hell is this, Dad?"

But Nisei who walked downtown still said they felt they had signs on on their backs, "Shoot here." When Mrs. Avon Sutton waved hello to Edna Abe on Main Street, Edna rushed over crying, "Mrs. Sutton, you're the only friend in town who said hello to me." When Kikue Tabara tried to sell her asparagus crop, the produce man said nothing doing unless she got a white person to sell it. He didn't want any of his friends to know he was buying Jap goods, he said. Kikue's husband was overseas at that time.

Then, suddenly, strange things happened. The owner of one of the movie theatres stopped a Nisei on the street to say how welcome Japanese Americans would be in his place. Also, several storekeepers, hats in hand, visited their old Japanese friends to tell them how much they missed them at their stores.

They weren't kidding.

Ever since the 400 Japanese Americans had come out of their concentration camps back to the valley, these town merchants had watched the evacuees spending all their money in nearby towns. They needed all kinds of equipment to replace everything that had been broken and stolen and lost while they were away. They weren't buying in Hood River because the signs were still up.

So, one day, the signs came down.

THE merchants decided that they were no longer afraid of Kent Shoemaker's boycott pressure and they didn't want to lose out on all this money.

Mrs. Max Moore, a big, friendly woman, one of the few who never had the sign in her window, had an added explanation for the change.

"It's mainly because most people in Hood River are really good people. As for the noisy few who started all the trouble, their convictions weren't as deep as ours. Theirs was mostly a bluff and now I really think the bluff is over."

Something else that called the bluff was the fact that people like Ray Yasui had made sure that every one of 85 eligible Nisei had registered to vote. The word got around. And in Hood River, 85 votes are a lot of votes. S when the politicians were considerir candidates for county judge and som body suggested Kent Shoemaker, tl politicians all screamed at once, "A you crazy?"

The final touch to embarrass the rac haters was the stagey demonstrations friendship every time a Caucasian v saw one of his Nisei friends downtow That prompted a lot of town organiz tions, like the Booster Club and Veterar of Foreign Wars, to send invitations t different Nisei to come back again int community life.

BUT SOMEHOW the Nisei aren't rusl ing back. It takes time for the hurt to heal, and they've been hurt a lo All those signs, blank looks, boycott threats, hate. It will take time for Ra Yasui to rub away the look on his fiv year-old daughter's face when she carr back from the grocery store this sprin whimpering, "Daddy, they don't like t in there, do they?"

The repressed race hate in Hoo River still exists:

The farmer who said, "I don't lik those lousy Japs but I'm not doing an thing about it because I'm mixed up i a lot of farm deals with them."

Oldtimers, like Post Commander Je Eddington, who still runs the America Legion post here, muttering about ho they would never have repainted th Nisei names if it weren't for a dire order from the National Commander.

"No sir, we ain't ashamed of wh we did, but we can't fight the whol country."

Shortly after November 29, 194 when the names were wiped off, th Reverend Burgoyne, the Methodi minister, attacked the action as undem cratic and unchristian. Burgoyne and small handful continued to fight unt their stand became known throughou America. Letters poured in from all ove and people asked what they could do t help.

To each of them, Burgoyne sent thi answer:

"The battle for American decenc happened to be here this year. W fought it and won. Next year it may b in your part of America and I'm count ing on you to stand true."

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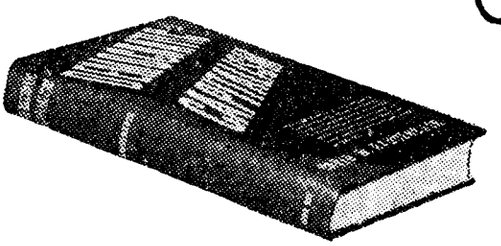

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United Nations News

Madrid and Philadelphia

WITH Christmas on its heels, the United Nations General Assembly held its first Sunday and its first night meetings on December 1. The delegates, most of whom have been working a 12-hour day in a six-day week, were not overjoyed at the idea, but in order to meet ship, plane and train schedules which would get them home for the holidays, it was necessary. The plan was to wind up the General Assembly by December 13 and there was still much to be done.

Signs of overwork and strain were evident as the Sunday sessions convened. Dr. Jose Arce of Argentina commented drily that the delegates would all go to hell for working on the day of the Lord. The Soviet delegation, in an effort to overcome transportation and fatigue problems, suggested that the night meeting, if absolutely necessary, be held in the city—possibly at the Soviet Consulate.

The major items up for discussion were a consideration of the Spanish issue and the problem of selecting a permanent home for the UN.

The Spanish question looked as though it might be buried in a maze of resolutions, amendments and conflicting opinions from pro-Franco, middle-of-the-road and strongly anti-Franco delegates. Poland was leading the fight to cut off diplomatic and economic relations with Franco but was unable to win the required two-thirds support. An alternative was the US resolution, couched in strong words that belied its weaknesses. The resolution condemned Franco roundly. This had been done before, and the US knew it. To bolster the condemnation, the US made several recommendations. The first of these was that Spain be debarred from membership in UN activities and agencies.

The second recommendation was that Franco surrender his powers to a provisional government broadly representative of the people and committed to respect basic freedoms and to hold a free election promptly. Senator Connally did not attempt to explain just how Franco could be persuaded to give up his power, nor did he state whether or not the Spanish Republican Government-in-Exile under Jose Giral would constitute a suitable interim government. It was generally felt that the US was anxious to avert (1) an economic and diplomatic break; (2) armed intervention in Spain; and (3) civil war. We were afraid that any show of UN strength might pave the way for Franco's downfall and the rise of communism. We were prepared to go a little farther than we had in the past, but our basic policy of watch and wait, condemn and condone, still held. At the same time, by "recognizing that it is up to the Spanish people to settle the form of their government," the US resolution seemed to be an invitation to civil war. If the war came, not only Axis materials, but the planes and machinery bought from the US since the end of the war would be used by Franco against the people.

MEANWHILE a tempest was being stirred up over a new home for the United Nations. Westchester has been notoriously unsympathetic, and Flushing presents rebuilding problems and a critical metropolitan housing shortage for Secretariat personnel. With these facts in mind, representatives from the General Assembly's Headquarters Committee surveyed possible sites in Philadelphia, Boston and San Francisco. The group returned last week and indicated that its preferences were Philadelphia's Fairmount Park and the San Francisco Presidio, with Westchester-Fairfield still in the running and Flushing an unwanted fourth.

There was a moment of crisis when the UN press officer, who had been covering atomic energy before being attached to the survey, received an urgent telephone call from a New York reporter.

"Aren't you the UN atomic expert?" the reporter asked.

The press officer admitted he had done some work with atomic energy.

"Well, well," the reporter demanded with a triumphant sneer in his voice, "what are you looking for on this tour, huh?"

There was a minor crisis when the party reached San Francisco and one of the delegates lost his hat in a restaurant. The restaurant management, afraid that the incident might reflect on the moral character and hospitality of the city, got the mayor and the police department on the job. The hat was recovered in no time, and no hard feelings either.

THE BIG FIGHT over a permanent site is nearing settlement. Britain, Russia and many small European countries had wanted the UN to stay on the East Coast. The US had refused to talk until Soviet site expert Georgi F. Saskin accused the Americans of politicking for San Francisco and forced Senator Austin to support the East Coast. All Europe is suffering a shortage of trained diplomats and the East Coast site makes the shuttling process easier and quicker.

A bevy of pressure groups is floating around the UN at present. The Philadelphia City Planning Commission has come in with maps, diagrams and photographs which it has mounted along one wall of the committee room. Philadelphia proposes to give the UN carte blanche and would attempt to build the industry and culture of the city around the international organization. San Francisco has sent its mayor, California's attorney general, and an expert staff which is now writing speeches for any delegate who will support its site.

Mayor O'Dwyer came up with several schemes for a permanent UN center in New York. One idea was to house the organization in a gigantic international skyscraper. Another, to turn Governors Island over to the UN. There are also a few independent lobbyists; the most interesting is a Pennsylvanian who supports a site in Delaware County and is violently opposed to Fairmount Park. His chief argument is based on birds, bees and flowers in a country site and on the somewhat irrelevant fact that he is a mystic.

JANE BEDELL

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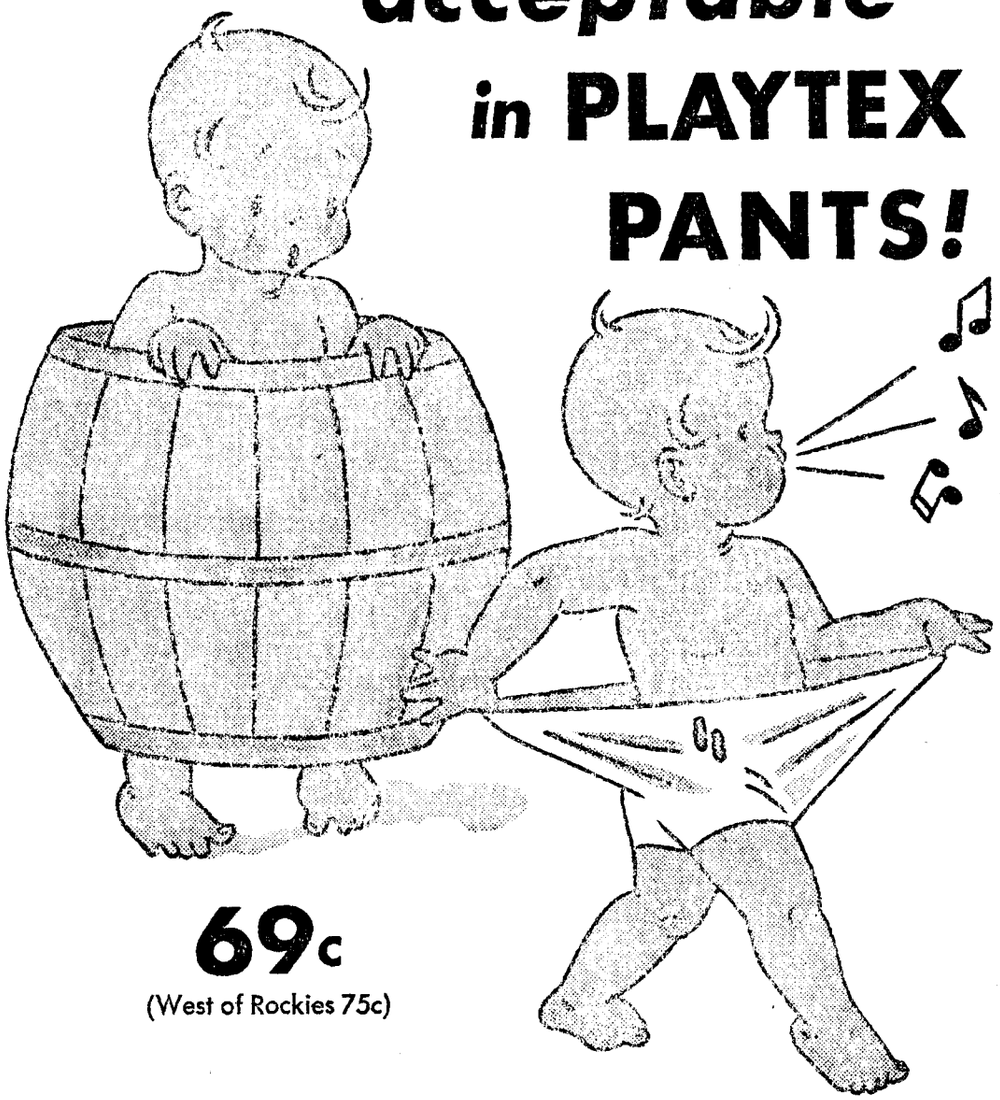

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Farm

Overproduction Ahead

A SHORT TIME AGO I was talking to a farmer friend of mine—an old Department of Agriculture man who went back to the soil—and I asked him what he thought was going to happen to agriculture, agricultural production and prices under the Republicans.

"It's anybody's guess," said Lafe, "but I think that we'll have so-called overproduction and low prices in two years, or less."

"Of course, you farmers have price support. Congress, even a Republican Congress, is committed to paying you 90 percent of parity. You don't think the Republicans will renege on their promises?"

"The Republicans will support this parity law if it doesn't prove too expensive," said Lafe. "But suppose they had to pay two to three billion a year. Do you honestly think that Taber, the great economizer, is going to OK such an appropriation?"

"The idea of overproduction right now seems a little far-fetched," I said.

"Oh, there'll be shortages for a while. Milk, for example. It takes a long time to raise a dairy cow. But just wait. Give us farmers two years and we'll produce such a flood of food that the Republicans will wish they'd never heard of parity. Why, even now there are signs that we'll have overproduction. Look what happened to potatoes this season.

"And the farmers haven't really started yet. You know, Angus, that the American farmer produced about 20 percent more food in 1944 than in a peacetime year and that during the war the agricultural population actually declined from 30 to 25 million. There's stormy weather ahead for the farmer.

"He produced in 1944 enough food to feed 50 million more people than he fed in 1939. In 1945 there were more than two million tractors on American farms; in 1939 there had been only 1.6 million. Of course this explains the big wartime increase in production.

"Furthermore, according to Sherman Johnson, Department of Agriculture economist, mechanization will increase in the next few years. He says there'll be 2.6 million tractors in use by 1950.'

"You're forgetting several things Lafe," I said. "You know this good weather won't keep up. Every year for five years, we have had a bumper crop because of wonderful weather."

"OH, WEATHER," said Lafe, "isn't as important in farming as it's cracked up to be. The farmer has done something about it."

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"Well, let me give you an example. Remember the spring of 1943 in the corn belt?"

"As I recall, it was wet."

"Wet!" said Lafe. "It was so wet in southern Illinois that the farmers thought they'd never get their corn planted. And what happened when the rain finally stopped? The farmers jumped out and planted their crop with fast tractors in about one-third the time they had previously planted it by using horse and mule power. Those that worked at night got their crop planted in about one-sixth the usual time. The result was that Illinois in 1943 produced, in spite of bad weather, one of the biggest crops in its history—419 million bushels."

"Well, anyway," I said, "you can limit production."

Lafe burst out laughing.

"You mean the Republicans are going to bring about an economy of scarcity. Maybe kill little pigs and plow up cotton. You mean the Republicans are going to control and limit production. Why that's New Deal regimentation and socialistic and against free enterprise.

"No, as I see it, the Republicans in the next few years are going to be damned if they do and damned if they don't. With full production they'll have to pay out several billion dollars to support prices, and thus renege on their economy plans and promises. If they

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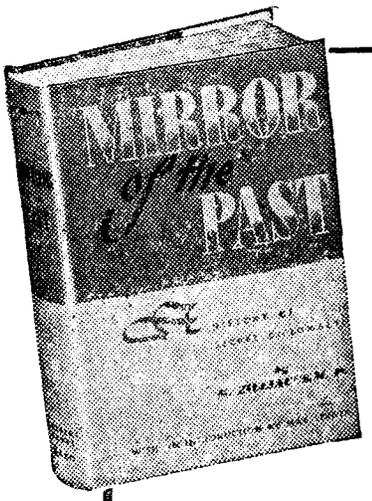

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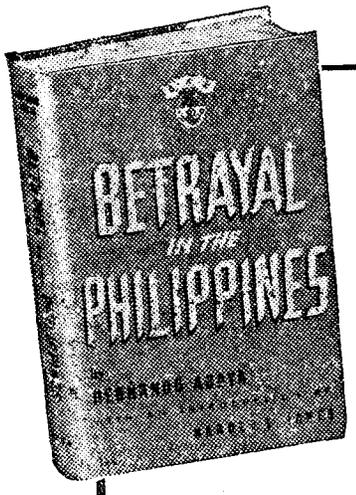

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limit production, they're New Dealers."

The alternatives are not quite so simple as my friend Lafe suggests, though it is probable that potatoes and eggs will be in price-support trouble in 1947 and that other commodities will be overproduced in 1948. Attempts will be made to change the price-support law. The Department of Agriculture's recent interpretation that farmers who produce over the goals in 1947 are not entitled to "price-support money" has already been challenged by Representative Pace of Georgia. Price-support policy will be political dynamite by 1948.

IT SEEMS to me it should be possible for the American farmer to have full production in peacetime and at the same time be prosperous. It seems to me that the great contradiction of overproduction and underconsumption must be solved in the next few years.

In normal times, many Negro cotton farmers cannot buy cotton shirts because they have produced too much cotton. In Oklahoma in the thirties I knew wheat farmers who could not buy a loaf of bread because they had produced too much wheat.

We must solve these and other contradictions if we are to survive as a great nation. The solution, of course, lies toward expanding markets, both domestic and foreign, toward high wages for the city workers and toward fair prices for the farmer. People in cities will buy the farmer's food if they have the money. But if their wages are low they can't pay him much and he must either be subsidized or take in his belt a couple of notches and mortgage his farm, as he did in the twenties. And if the city worker loses his job and can't buy anything, the farmer will go on the rocks altogether, just as he did in 1932.

It should be pointed out again and again that the farmer can't get along without the city man to sell his products to, and that the city man will starve if he doesn't have money to buy the food the farmer sells. And if a union helps a city man get more money, so the country man can sell his stuff at a profit, then I think the country man should be red-hot for the union. I don't see any use in laboring this point. It seems obvious to me.

ANGUS MCDONALD.

Theatre

Ambitious Plays

Another Part of the Forest, by Lillian Hellman. Fulton Theatre, November 20, 1946.

Christopher Blake, by Moss Hart. The Music Box, December 2, 1946.

THOUGH Miss Hellman's new play is complete in itself and does not depend on that highly successful earlier play of hers, "The Little Foxes," it is twice as interesting in connection with it. We are now shown the generation of Hubbards before those in "The Little Foxes," which puts back the time by twenty years. We have the terrific old father, blockade-runner in the Civil War, extortioner, guilty of a crime that would hang him if the truth were known but with a taste for music and Greek; the loose daughter who is the only one her father loves; the mistreated, hysterical old wife; the two sons, one more rotten than the other. We see them all thrown at one another's heads by the dramatist, hear their storming and hating, watch everything get more and more violent, tighter and tighter, till one of the sons worms his father's secret out of his mother, beats him down with it and becomes in his turn the tyrant of the house.

Miss Hellman's underlying motif of devouring greed and human rapacity is a worthy motif. The general fault and failure of the play is that all the raging violence and blast and lurid vehemence does not proceed sufficiently from within the characters. More and more Miss Hellman piles things on from the outside, heaps it up into rank melodrama, with an innate lack of essential dignity and thrust. The company, directed by the author, is far above the average, first and foremost among them Percy Waram as the father.

SHEPPERD STRUDWICK some seasons ago played Orlando in the Essex Players' "As You Like It" with so much intelligence, good taste and masculine

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style that he at once established himself as one of the most promising young actors in sight. He returns now via Hollywood, troop ships and tankers to Broadway and is one of the good things about the new Moss Hart piece. He plays the father of the twelve-year-old boy who is so torn up by his parents' divorce.

"Christopher Blake" opens somewhat confusedly with the President of the United States conferring a medal on the young hero. The parents appear, but they are getting a divorce. The tortured boy shoots himself. Which is to say the play opens not in the reality but in Christopher's dream. The real scene in the courtroom follows. The mother is set on the divorce, the father does not want it, they both want Christopher, and he is to decide. His father explains privately the affair with another woman, now broken off. His mother explains privately that she has never felt the marriage to be complete, right and so on, and for Christopher's sake thinks it should come to an end. In the last scene Christopher chooses to stay with the father; he has won through to a certain victory within himself, and everybody seems to have got at last on to sensible, healthy ground. Meanwhile these scenes are interspersed with dream scenes: Christopher is kicked out of school, left in the cold outside his father's door; his parents are in the poorhouse, he returns from South America rich but only to scorn them; he is before the judge in a mad, mocking command to choose between his mother and father.

There are some excellent ideas in all this, many effective motifs and considerable human feeling. But the scenes on the whole drag and run from a good deal of dramatic intensity to the tedious and banal. A certain pretension of profundity and subtle meaning gets into things, as was the case with "Lady in the Dark," where this playwright made such a high hash of dream, reality and spectacular production. The almost gaudy variety of crowded designs by Harry Horner, the countless scene changes, the three revolving stages, the open secret of the $180,000 production cost, the dozens of people in the company all add up to something that is not really imaginative, not impressive, not moving. The occasion in fact becomes pretty irksome.

The convincing moments and stage glow, when such appear, all belong to Christopher, played by Richard Tyler, a young actor of great talent and truth. His playing, however, suffers badly from the endless pausing that the director—in this case the author—has given him, as a means, doubtless, of expressing the strain and confusion of the tortured young spirit. Throughout the play there were times when these pauses, directed into every character, seemed about to smother everything. Such a method is both arbitrary and monotonous, and leaves us wondering what some of the scenes might be like if they were played with fluency and the excitement and surprise of living rhythms and stage movement.

STARK YOUNG

A personal word from a wellwisher . . .

"THE TWO BIGGEST OBSTACLES TO DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES ARE, FIRST, THE WIDESPREAD DELUSION AMONG THE POOR THAT WE HAVE A DEMOCRACY, AND SECOND, THE CHRONIC TERROR AMONG THE RICH LEST WE GET IT."*

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Who's Pixillated Now?

"If people would think more of fairies they would soon forget the atom bomb." – *Walt Disney, as quoted in an AP dispatch from Dublin.*

Democracy in Action

Under questioning, principally by Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, the committee [Senate Campaign Investigating Committee] chairman, one sheriff and at least two circuit clerks volunteered that they made a practice of warning Negroes not to attempt to vote, simply, of course, they explained, to keep the peace. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Sense of *What?*

Army and Navy officials are seeking to squelch irresponsible talk about "push-button" weapons which tends to give the public and Congress a false sense of security. – *From the Chicago* Daily Drovers' Journal.

Economics for the Million

Supposing a dress has cost you $100. All right, you wear it once and the price is murder, but you wear it twice and what's happened? Fifty dollars a shot. Still awful, but persevere. You wear it three times, $33.33. Already it's less gruesome. Ten times it's $10. A dress for $10 is cheap. It's something you really like, you wear it 20 or 30 or 40 times, wear it enough and it comes out free. – *Ilka Chase in a special section of the New York* Sunday Times.

Hands Across the Sea

The Governor [Coke Stevenson of Texas] said Fiorello LaGuardia, director of UNRRA, has asked him how many of 345,281 displaced Europeans could be accepted in Texas if they are allowed to enter the United States.

"We may have a temporary shortage of help, but looking over the long pull, the people of Texas will need most of the jobs we can offer," Stevenson asserted, adding: "Though these people are probably in a distressed condition, there is an old saying, 'Charity begins at home'." – *AP dispatch from Austin.*

Ipse Dixit

Several of the countries receiving loans or gifts from us have Communist governments. These governments use the gifts in ways that promote communism. They might say they use the gifts in ways to promote the welfare of their people, but that is the same as saying the gifts are used to promote communism. – *From Mark Sullivan's syndicated column.*

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Books

The Past as Prelude

SINCE K. Zilliacus wrote his survey of Europe's shady diplomatic past in the closing days of the recent war, when the victorious powers were not snapping at each other so raucously and he himself had not yet been swept into Parliament by the Labor tidal wave of 1945, his new book, *Mirror of the Past* (Current Books, $3.75), seems incomplete here and there. For example, as Max Lerner points out in his excellent introduction, the author's strictly Marxist analysis of the conflict between Russia and Britain needs supplementation following the Labor victory in England, with the resulting growth of Communist-Socialist rivalry for the leadership of popular forces in the world. Nevertheless, the book is a timely and important historical study which has great value as a warning and a portent.

The period studied by Zilliacus is that from the beginning of the imperialistic scramble for colonies in the last century, through the First World War and the establishment of the League of Nations, to the conclusion of the first ten years of the League's doomed existence. The learned Member of Parliament contemplates the chicanery, the befuddlement, the hypocrisy, the shortsightedness and the fears that marked an era of international anarchy, imperialism and power politics, traces the connection between them and the development of the capitalist system, and proceeds to derive a lesson from his investigations. Although he does not attempt to push historical parallels too far, the result is his documented contention that the chief reason for the failure of the League and diplomacy was fear of the rising power of the USSR, and his grim belief that the same fear again threatens the same failure.

While the conflict between communism and socialism, which is currently dramatized by the combats between Molotov and Bevin, has introduced an added complication into the author's thesis, his argument remains essentially intact. The reason for regretting that the matter has not been treated in *Mirror of the Past* is not that his contention has been seriously upset by it, for it hasn't, but that his status in the struggle now going on within the Labor Party over the Bevin foreign policy would have given anything he had to say on the subject so much importance. As one of the leaders of the group which feels that the British Foreign Minister has been pushed by Byrnes's so-called "bipartisan" American foreign policy into the embarrassing position of providing socialist support for reactionary capitalist hostility toward Russia, his analysis of recent events would have added a trenchant last chapter to a striking book.

EVEN without such a chapter, *Mirror of the Past* has two particularly valuable points to make in support of the current discomfort in both the United States and England over the recent course of events. In respect to the scornful cry of "appeasement," which greets any effort to reach a sympathetic understanding with Russia—and which is always used most indignantly by people who didn't mind amicability when it was directed toward Nazi Germany or Japan rather than our wartime ally—the author reminds us that the policy of "toughness" has never worked in dealing with the USSR and that it has invariably been a sign of weakness and confusion rather than of strength. It was when we were frightened and baffled by the Russian threat, not to our national security, but to our own political and social smugness and the comfort of the status quo that we flexed our muscles and got tough with the Kremlin.

Then, as a bow to the sort of foreign policy known in Washington as "bipartisan" and in London as one of "continuity," Zilliacus points out that it always proves to be one of the last refuges of conservatism. Whenever

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there is a genuine division in a country between progressive and reactionary parties and an attempt is made to work out an external program which will unite them, it is invariably found that the union is less a compromise than a domination of the Right. As the author puts it in his historical survey:

Throughout the nineteenth century the rising tide of democracy submerged one aspect of public life after the other and engulfed more and more of the functions of government. The aristocracy and plutocracy were driven back step by step, convinced at every successive surrender that disaster would follow from the foolishness of the people, and yielding only because they had to. Finally they were left high and dry in diplomacy which they had tenaciously defended against the encroachments of democracy.

IN CONSIDERING the important matter of Allied intervention in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, Zilliacus is particularly striking. This support of the forces of reaction in the early days of the Soviet Union has, more than any other one thing, continued to keep the relationship between the most powerful of the United Nations strained and uncomfortable, and it has been the rebuttal of those who have defended our course in that luckless period that intervention, though unfortunate, was necessary to the successful prosecution of the war against Germany and continued as a protection of the West against Red chaos. *Mirror of the East* replies most persuasively that the Russian Revolution, instead of helping the Germans by ending the eastern front, was one of the greatest factors in their defeat by its stirring up of latent popular forces in Central Europe, and that it was not Western democracy but the postwar power of Teutonic medievalism which our interference protected. It is difficult to think of a convincing reply.

Hypocrisy is one of the book's themes and, while it certainly does not absolve Germany and Austria of chief blame in the earlier war, it shows persuasively that it was the whole system of imperialism and power politics which made war inevitable, and that we were a little embarrassing in our pious attempts to deny it. What is important about this point is that it is made clear that the current attempt of the old isolationist crowd to claim that the struggle against the Nazis was as filled with dubious issues as the war against the Kaiser is without validity. Zilliacus has made an important contribution to the peace of the world.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

Shame of a Nation

STETSON KENNEDY wanted to find out for himself about the men who burn fiery crosses and flog their neighbors and preach hate. He could have made his investigation in a great many parts of America. There are filthy-mouthed sadists in Boston who spend their spare hours beating up little Jewish paper carriers and scrawling obscenities on the walls of synagogues and overturning gravestones that are marked with the Star of David. There are patriots on the Pacific Coast who demonstrate their Americanism by throwing stale beer in the faces of disabled American veterans of Japanese origin. But Stetson Kennedy is a Southerner and a Georgian, and he was interested in the native hate-mongers and native fascists of his own section. And it was fortunate for America that he was.

It is hard to evaluate the merits of *Southern Exposure* (Doubleday, $3), which lays little claim to literary grace and deals with an assortment of facts from which the reader draws his own conclusions. This looks like an important book, because it chronicles the relationship between the Southern hate-mongers and those interests which have exploited the human and natural resources of the South for close to a century. Those interests are not native; they are what Southerners call "carpet-baggers." The little fascist groups are what Southerners used to call "scalawags."

It is evident from the reading of *Southern Exposure* that the Southern hate-mongers differ from their Massachusetts and Pacific Coast counterparts in one way. The Boston scrawler of filth upon synagogues has absorbed the

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propaganda of Goebbels and Streicher, but at least he is hating of his own will. The Pacific Coast bully is merely indulging in the cowardice of his kind. But the Southern hate-monger is hating at so much per hate, paid him by the exploiters of his neighbors and his own family, paid him by the men who have kept the South as a colonial appendage to the nation, paid him by those who want to divide our common country so that they can rule it and steal its wealth.

The picture that is painted of the various neo-fascist groups is not a pretty one. Most of their members are dirty little men peddling hate in dirty little rooms. It might be rather funny, if another dirty little man had not succeeded in peddling enough hate to get hold of a country and to set up crematoriums and concentration camps and a one-party government dominated by gangsters. Wherever the fascist doctrine is preached, there is danger to every person in America and in the world.

ELLIS ARNALL

The Race Novel

THE NEGRO PROBLEM is still with us, in literature as well as fact. In the last five years more has been written about the Negro than during any similar period in our literary history, with the possible exception of the so-called Negro renaissance of the twenties, when a blasé white America discovered how delightfully quaint and charming Negroes could be on the stage, in the printed page and even in Park Avenue and West Fifty-fifth Street apartments. With the probability of a general slump in the book market (certain to be felt first in books by or about Negroes), this seems an opportune time to examine the trends which produce such writing and also to estimate the worth of that writing in terms of the effect it has had upon America and any possible solution of the race problem.

It is significant that those periods most productive of race literature, with few exceptions, have occurred when a war has heightened our guilt feelings by making us more acutely aware that our treatment of Negroes is the proof of our failure in democracy. So long as we remain charged with that guilt, we

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are not only book buyers but we even seem willing, temporarily, to give the Negro a slightly better break.

Thus it would seem that, as protest, race books have at times been effective. In the pre-Civil War period they were one important factor in helping to crystallize the anti-slavery feeling of the North. The most telling of this writing was pamphleteering and propaganda, especially if we look upon Mrs. Stowe's little bombshell as an effective opinion-maker rather than the poorly created novel it really was. Novels there were, to be sure, and some of them germane to the race novel, yet the few that are remembered are only worth reading for their academic interest. As a matter of fact, it was not until Charles W. Chesnutt's second novel, *The Marrow of Tradition,* was published in 1901 that both material and presentation jelled into something we can use as the point of origin of the race novel as we know it today. Writing of the Wilmington (North Carolina) race riots of 1898, Chesnutt gave us the first fiction study of race relations in the South at the turn of the last century. And though as a novel it has shortcomings, it breathed life into something that had been lifeless and bore little resemblance to reality.

SINCE THEN the race novel has become more common, but it has been growing as standardized as the slick-magazine serial, if not for the same reasons. The lynching novel, the novel which treats the Negro folkwise in an all-colored setting, the novel treating the phenomenon of "passing," and the too hurried treatment of the middle class and the Negro intelligentsia of the twenties has given way to an even more restricted matrix in the forties.

Indeed in the past five years, with few exceptions, there have been but two kinds of race novels. The first of these, usually written by "liberal" white Southerners, treats with apparent abhorrence the lack of human decency in the South and the racial violence which usually results from it; the villain is usually white and in the end he gets it, but on close observation we find that the militant Negro gets it too. Actually the hero (white, and generally the author) really violates no taboos that, though once heinous, are not now accepted in many drawing rooms in the South. As a result the author gains a great reputation for being a liberal without any of the dangers inherent in the position of those who choose to challenge the status quo, racial or economic.

Even more revealing is the jim-crow hero, always Negro and preferably past sexual potency (a white-haired school teacher with pictures of prominent Negroes hung on his classroom walls) or a hulking but rather simple-minded peasant (the white hero's boyhood chum or a faithful servant). Always there is this same symbolism—the *good* white folks and the *safe* Negro who hope to reform the status quo; the *bad* white folks (always the poor white or the very wealthy) and the *uppity* Negro (usually implied to be latently criminal or educated in the North) who strive either to freeze the status quo in a mold which will bring discredit to the *good* white folks, or cause violence to be done to the *safe* Negro and his people.

THE OTHER KIND of race novel has been written both by Negroes and Northern whites and even though more honest and sincere, it is no less distorted, for in its attempt to avoid the usual stereotype it generally creates another, potentially perhaps even more dangerous. Too often such novels go to the extreme in an oversimplification of Southern mores, and if characters bear any resemblance to human beings it is more by accident than actual intent. The hero is Negro and his progression through life resembles a walk through a long hallway shut off from the reader; we see him enter one door an ignorant but noble son of nature and come out the other a Reconstruction congressman or a genius-to-be writer. We have no idea of what has happened in the hallway, save that the author tells us it *has* happened; it bears as little resemblance to reality as do the distortion mirrors in Coney Island funhouses.

This is not true of all the race novels of the forties but it is true of enough of them to make us pause for thought. Two exceptions are worth mentioning briefly. One, *Strange Fruit,* enjoyed a sale achieved by few novels; the other, *If He Hollers Let Him Go,* appeared on

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no best-seller list. Lillian Smith has written with rare insight of the Southern white mind and how race has warped it, and she has handled the theme of miscegenation with courage. If the same insight is not apparent in all of her Negro characters and if her love affair between a white man and a very fair Negro girl seems merely the coupling of a flesh-and-blood man with a character as ethereal as Rima, the forest woman in *Green Mansions*, this is not to say that Miss Smith has not written a good book, but merely that she narrowly missed writing a great one.

CHESTER HIMES, on the other hand, writes out of his guts with a controlled bitterness that blisters the page. Richard Wright has said that Himes does not write words but shoots them at you out of the end of a machine gun. His Bob Jones, a young Cleveland Negro who goes to the West Coast to work in a shipyard and becomes a victim of the frustrations inherent in racial tensions, would make the Southern liberal throw up his hands and run for cover. In fact, he made a great many white readers in the North equally nervous, and most reviewers missed the point of the book entirely. But as one who worked with Himes in an editorial capacity which was memorable for me, there was no way out; to compromise further for either of us would have meant the emasculation of something which badly needed telling—the psychological lynchings which every Negro suffers almost daily and their impact on his psyche and personality.

Singling out these two novels is significant because each, though at opposite poles, contains the most vital writing of this period and in a sense the strength of each is the weakness of the other.

Actually the race novel which was in a sense sired by Chesnutt has never really matured but has remained suspended between childhood and adolescence, and if the present trend continues, it is likely to become a retarded adolescent. The race novels of the forties, for example, come out a poor second to the non-fiction of the same period. There is no novel with the wide implications contained in *An American Dilemma*, nor even a proletarian race novel good

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enough to support those who decry Myrdal's slighting of the economic factors involved in the Negro question. Where is there a novel of Negro family life covering anything like the ground surveyed in *The Negro Family in the United States,* by E. Franklin Frazier, or a fictional study of Negro life in a Northern urban community as significant as *Black Metropolis,* by Horace R. Cayton and St. Clair Drake? Even in the field of jazz, where the Negro was the catalytic agent, there is no novel, good or bad, which compares with Rudi Blesh's *Shining Trumpets.*

INDEED, we race novelists have, in effect, created a fictional world peopled by Negroes who, like the Pullman porter, all seem to be named George. Some of us have been less guilty than others, but to find the middle-class Negro we must go back to the twenties and the novels of Jessie Fauset; to recapture the intelligentsia, return to Carl Van Vechten or the satires of Wallace Thurman. There is a whole world that most writers of the forties have chosen to ignore; will they turn toward it or will they continue trying to say the same thing over and over again but in a different way, dealing in symbols rather than people and substituting wishful thinking for real insight? Mere protest is no longer enough; we must start to dig deeply, perhaps in the same way that the Russian writers did in the last century. Until we do and produce a series of novels which show real understanding of the whole complex, partly comic but mostly tragic illness that has given America a split personality, *A Passage to India,* in the hands of a competent editor with a blue pencil, or a thoughtful reader, will remain, in spite of the difference in locale, the best race novel which has been written about the Negro problem in our own South.

BUCKLIN MOON

A New Novelist

IT IS CORRECT, as the publishers do, to label *John Fury* (Harpers, $2.75) a story of Irish immigrants, but at the same time it is misleading. There is a fixed pattern for chronicles of European immigrants in America: the hardships

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of winning one's bread in an alien land, the overcrowded, rickety tenements, the gossipy neighbors—helpful in hours of need—the never fulfilled hopes of the Insulted and Injured. Since only Irish live in Fury's neighborhood, we also have the violent conflicts, the epic brawls, the hard-drinking, irresponsible men, the hard-working, fiercely religious women of Irish American literature.

Yet, though the setting is well known, the drama throughout transcends the familiar. The author neither defends a thesis nor points a moral. He is as far from the pedantic naturalism of Farrell as from the lyricism of Betty Smith which tended to make poverty a romantic adventure. *John Fury* is the biography of an inarticulate Irishman, a young, strong wagon driver at first, an unemployed old man at the end, who never understands what happens to him after his first wife, the serene, soft Mamie, has died, leaving him two daughters. He marries Bridget, a miserly shrew who drives him to violence and drink. Just when it appears that the author has lost his protagonist in following the lives of his daughters, the story hurries John toward a violent, pitiful end, brought about by Bridget's stupidity and hardness.

JACK DUNPHY has composed his book in an experimental and highly successful manner. He tells it in short paragraphs, reporting the dialogue without quotation marks and forcing the reader to pay attention to each single word. He confesses to having read Gertrude Stein's *The Making of Americans,* and her mark is on his writing. However, his method is really impressionistic. The novel breaks the stream of the narrative into a thousand multicolored pieces.

This doesn't mean that Dunphy has in any manner painted over the drab life on Siegal Street, where many a woman's only comfort is that her neighbor's troubles are greater than her own. Rather, he has written an authentic story of poor people without writing a novel drenched in social consciousness, and, at the same time, he has done this by an unorthodox, bold method which places him among the growing group of

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writers who are turning away from naturalism. He has fused the "proletarian" and the "experimental" novel—in itself quite an achievement for a first book.

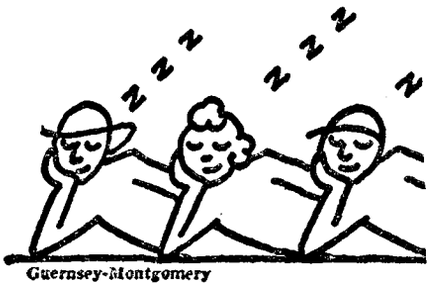
Besides, his figures have a singular way of impressing themselves on the reader's consciousness. Bridget's brother Thomas, whose main interest in life is to increase other people's unhappiness, is the perfect sample of a lower-class neurotic. Other characters are drawn with equal sureness whether they are pimply youths, runaway teen-agers or housewives like the inimitable Mrs. Brady, who is so busy taking care of her neighbors that her husband never gets his dinner on time. It is not a reviewer's place to make predictions or recommendations, particularly after an unusually strong first novel, but I think if Jack Dunphy is hesitant about writing that difficult second novel, he should try his hand at short stories. They demand all the gifts of compassion he has shown to such splendid advantage in *John Fury.*

RICHARD PLANT

A Reviewer Protests

HARRY LEVIN writes in reference to his review of *Balzac* (the *New Republic,* December 2): "Some time after I corrected proof on the review, some vandal went over it and changed a sentence so that it reads as nonsense. I had written, 'Even his countrymen seem willing to exchange the *livre vécu* for the *vie romancée*. . . .' If there had been exact English equivalents, I should have used them; but it seemed worth while to preserve the antithesis, particularly since I was talking about French literary forms. To say, as the review finally did, 'Even his countrymen seemed willing to exchange biography for a romanticized life,' is both inaccurate and meaningless. . . .

Vie romancée . . . means not 'romanticized life' but 'novelized biography.' . . . *Livre vécu,* of course, is not 'biography' at all; nor is it quite the same thing as an autobiographical novel. It's just a lived book—which isn't very good English. . . . The contrast was between Balzac's work—which had been lived—and lives of him which were semi-fictional."



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Movies

Portrait of the Artist

A RECENT French release called "Paris Frills" deals with a new topic for the movies—dress designing for the 16-cylinder-automobile class—and does an intimate, human portrait of an artist, Philippe, the second-best couturier in Paris (Raymond Rouleau). This full-bodied portrayal of a bouncing, effeminate, highly skillful woman's darling, who is constantly breaking out in a rash of abused sensitivity, is the first case in my memory where an artist's life is treated with as much savvy as has been given on occasion to other professions. The movie is another good job by Jacques Becker, whose films are a freakish mixture of unpretentious naturalism and Hollywood's slick glamorizing.

The story opens on a moment of distress in Philippe's dress mill—the seamstresses, who take as much pride as Philippe in his work, think his new designs are turkeys and he is screeching over the texture of some material. The fiancée (Micheline Presle) of a yard-goods tycoon bowls Philippe over with her beauty and he redesigns his collection to go with her personality and figure. His love affair with this girl goes somewhat too quickly over a course that is as full of sudden, shattering break-ups and reunions as a Winchell column; but it is reasonably convincing because the lovers are handled in the honest way of the best French films. The artist, who seems to catch fire only when he has to win the girl from another man, and then is able to get along without her, is driven to a dramatic, if inconsistent, suicide when she rejects him.

This is the only movie I have ever seen in which a posturing, narcissistic personality is shown in the full run of everyday situations and is handled with a matter-of-fact understanding that makes it into a sad, creative, extremely curious and complicated character. This hero's actions in the love affair for once seem to jibe with the complex person that he is. You get a strong impression of the man's incapability of being seriously in love, and one of the most revealing touches is his bouncy, carefree walk just after he has devastated his sweetheart by rejecting her—this after ardently pursuing her through three reels and finally winning her. Rouleau's performance as Philippe is good on most counts. He gives the sense of a person whose nerve endings, by some anatomical quirk, have been exposed to the elements, and at the same time he makes you feel he's truly an artist at his work. The one bad feature of the performance, which he shares with Micheline Presle, is a certain manikin-like facial immobility.

With the efficiency of a good documentary but in a charming, casual, off-hand manner, Becker acquaints you with the complicated, caste-ridden business of dress designing. He succeeds well enough to make you feel rewarded in the careful examination of such minor details as the lacquered, spindly chairs that are used at the opening and the tricky, two-way entrance made by the manikins. The nicest group of people I have seen in current movies are the friendly, loyal, unaffected seamstresses whose characters are so different from the dresses they make. Just as well cast is Philippe's partner (Gabrielle Dorziat), a sullen, dignified woman so wrapped up in her loyalty to the business that she seems to be cut off from the people around her.

JOHN FORD'S slow-poke cowboy epic, "My Darling Clementine," is a dazzling example of how to ruin some wonderful Western history with pompous movie making. Made almost unrecognizable by this super-schmaltzing by 20th Century Fox, this is an account of how Wyatt Earp (Henry Fonda) and his brothers rode herd on the badmen in Tombstone. Given almost equal billing with the Earps in this version of old Tombstone are cloudscapes which are as saccharine as postcard art. Typical of director Ford's unimaginative, con-

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forming tourist sensibility is the setting he uses—dead, flat country with Picassoesque rock formations jutting dramatically here and there—that has happened in Westerns ever since Art Acord was a baby. "Clementine" is in the new tradition of cowboy films: instead of hell-for-leather action there is concentration on civic-mindedness, gags, folk art. This one goes in for slow, heavy, character-defining shots. There are entertaining, vital performances by Fonda, as the courtly, slow-motion, dead-pan marshal, and by Victor Mature as a tuberculous killer. Secondary roles are filled by good players that you don't see very often—Tim Holt, Grant Withers and Ben Hall. MANNY FARBER

Correspondence

Southern Justice

SIR: I must disagree with St. Clair Drake when he discounts the magnanimity demonstrated by "twelve good men and true" in the Columbia, Tennessee, case (the *New Republic,* Correspondence, December 2). Assuming that the unfortunate "two" are not guilty as charged and that the "evidence" is of the "flimsiest" type, nevertheless great inroads on Southern justice have been made.

I take violent exception to the likes of St. Clair Drake when they seemingly try to impose the idea that *only they know the South.* I can testify to the feeling a Northern white experiences when he attempts to inject his ideas into Southern social circles. I must say that Vincent Sheean expressed it better than I've ever seen it in print. . . .

Nothing has made the South lean more toward justice and equality than our men in uniform who trained in many parts of the South. Overwhelmed by this tremendous influx, Southerners made many changes as appeasement . . . to secure the carefree spending of the soldiers. Ever present was the inherent air of enmity against Northern intrusion, regardless of the monetary factor involved. . . .

I think our soldiers made a much deeper impression upon Southern whites than any CIO or NAACP, Socialists, Communists or liberals, because it's going to take more than these minorities to make the South mend its ways. Let those who believe otherwise explain why we witness the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and the return of Gene Talmadge.

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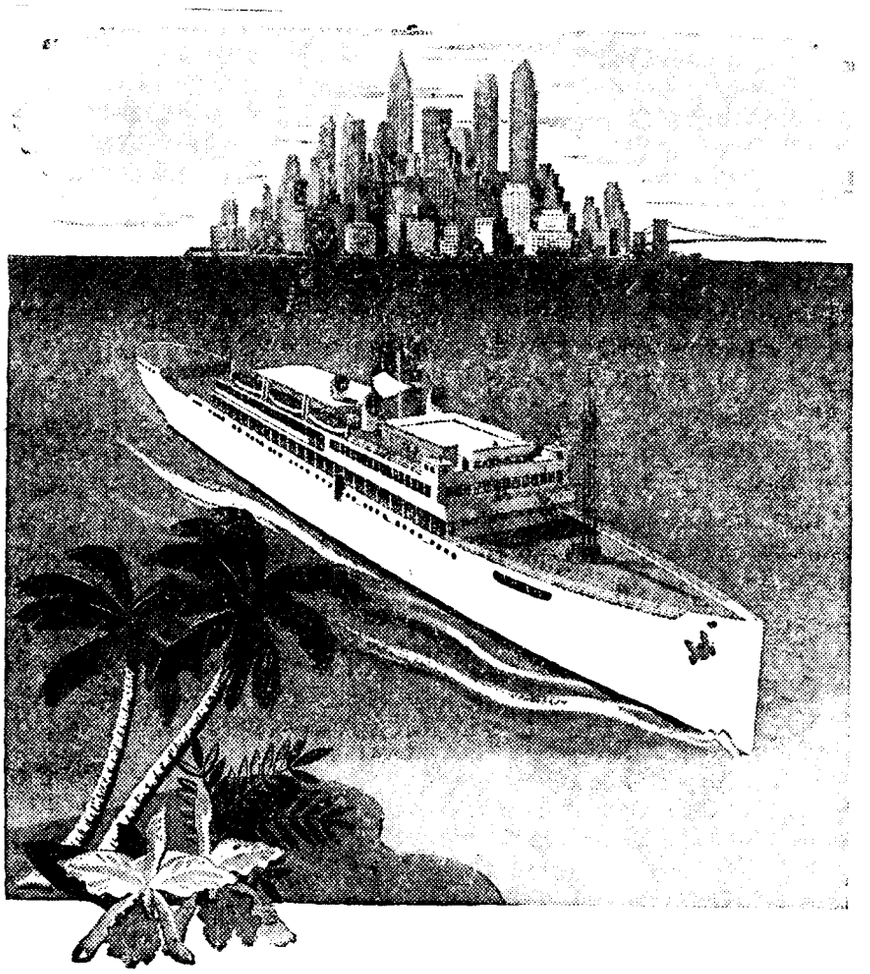

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